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Reportage on Accident of VOA's Biberaj

Democrats: Premeditated Crime

AU2509150591 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 19 Sep 91 pp 1, 3

[Statement by the Democratic Party's Managing Committee issued in Tirana on 19 September: "Premeditated Criminal Act of the State Security"]

[Text] The Democratic Party has repeatedly stated that the State Security [Sigurimi i Shtetit] is following a strategy of creating chaos and of terror against democratic forces in Albania. This criminal institution is responsible for the unstable situation and the murders and arrests of dozens and hundreds of Albanians in recent months. It has now begun to attack diplomats and Albanian and non-Albanian personalities who support democratic processes in Albania.

Specifically, yesterday, at 1200 on 18 September, near the town of Kruje, a pale mint-colored car without license plates rammed from behind the automobile carrying the well-known American personality of Albanian origin Dr. Elez Biberaj, head of the Albanian Section of Voice of America, together with his wife and the well-known journalists Mehmet Elezi and Qemal Sakajeva, who were accompanying him. After the first blow failed, the car without license plates (which the Security Service has often used after the foundation of the Democratic Party) struck the automobile twice more from the side, forcing the car off the road into a ditch, seriously injuring Mr. Elez Biberaj and injuring the others.

The Democratic Party and the entire democratic Albanian public condemn this foul criminal act that was intentionally planned against Mr. Biberaj, who has doubtless played a major role in democratic processes and has thus become a personality well loved by democratic forces in Albania. The Democratic Party, considering this incident to be an act of terrorism perpetrated by the Albanian State Security Service, warns these criminals and the forces hidden in the ranks of the Socialist Party, which has placed its press at their service, to abandon their criminal activities, for which the Albanian people will never forgive them. The Democratic Party demands that the National Stability Government take urgent measures to finally disarm and dissolve the State Security Service and to identify immediately the planners and performers of this premeditated crime, whose purpose was among other things to destroy relations between democratic forces in Albania and the United States. It strongly condemns the indifferent attitude of some sections of the Ministry of Public Order, which seem to be collaborating with the Albanian State Security Services for criminal purposes.

The Democratic Party demands that a firm line be taken against these elements.

Journalists Describe Accident

AU2509163191 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 20 Sep 91 p 1

[Article by Qemal Sakajeva and Mehmet Elezi: "A Criminal Assassination Like Those in Mafia Films"]

[Text] We do not know who compiled the report broadcast in the final television news broadcast, "Main News of the Day," which, among other things, emphasized that the accident that took place 4-5 km from Fushe Kruje at 1200 on 18 September seems to have occurred as a result of a collision between BASHKIMI's Fiat TR05-680 and another car. For the sake of the truth, as intellectuals and journalists, we consider it our duty to declare that our car, driven by the ever-careful chauffeur Astrit Alimehmeti, did not collide with any other car. On the contrary, a Mafia car came up and struck us, trying to kill us with the kind of professionalism we have seen only in cops and robbers movies.

If we had died, as the "Mafia" assassins intended, a report could have been written and broadcast about Mr. Elez Biberaj, his wife, us two, and the driver according to the whim of those compiling it. However, we five accidentally survived with injuries, and thus have the right to describe the truth as we experienced it.

Mr. Elez Biberaj, the well-known American journalist of Albanian origin who heads the Voice of America's Albanian Section, telephoned the office of BASHKIMI's chief editor, Qemal Sakajeva, from the Dajti Hotel and invited him to come for coffee, if possible. He also invited Mehmet Elezi, head of BASHKIMI's Foreign Section.

We met at about 1130 in the lobby of the Dajti Hotel. Mr. Biberaj expressed a great desire to see Kruje and the Skenderbeg Museum, and we decided to fulfill his wish. We left soon thereafter, driving slowly because we discussed everything we saw along the road. At a distance of 4-5 km from Fushe Kruje, at the most dangerous point on this flat road the criminals had selected, the tragedy occurred in a matter of seconds.

Our car was on its own side of the road, with a clearance of about 1 meter. The other side of this wide road was totally empty, with not a single vehicle traveling in either direction. There was only a car shadowing us from behind, which appeared close behind a fender of our car and rammed us. Our chauffeur skillfully swerved, using the 1-meter clearance he had. Mrs. Biberaj whispered in horror "Saved!," but she was wrong. The car shadowing us, a pale mint-colored vehicle without license plates (Is it so difficult for the Ministry of Public Order to keep cars without license plates completely off the road?), with a driver and one other person, struck us again, hitting us somewhere between the left-hand rear light and the door, the driver ramming us with skilled precision. This was enough to make our car do somersaults.

Everything happened in the twinkling of an eye. After several somersaults, we found ourselves at the bottom of a ditch full of water. The plan was to do away with us by any means: to kill us and to smash us to pieces in the somersaults, or, should we survive this, to trap us in the ditch, unable to climb out because of the crushed roof of the car, not to mention the danger of the car's catching fire. Meanwhile, the assassin had chosen a road with many escape routes through Fushe Kruje.

The main aim of the attack was to murder Mr. Biberaj, or at least to cripple him and in that way tell him that that is what he deserved for his Voice of America interviews. The terror of the accident would at least tell him and other Albanians whom the monist regime had labeled as enemies that that is what will happen to them if they come to Albania.

It was a criminally premeditated accident, a crime against human life and democracy. It also aimed to strike a blow against Albanian-American relations after the democratic processes in Albania. It was carried out with great skill by people who had planned the crime perfectly.

Five minutes after we arrived at the Emergency Ward of Tirana's Hospital No. 2, the U.S. Embassy's representative came and expressed particular interest in the U.S. citizens. A special aircraft was even placed at their disposal to transport them to Germany for treatment. Meanwhile, not a single person came to us Albanian citizens throughout the day or even the following night to inquire how the accident happened. The road inspector arrived at the scene three hours and 20 minutes after the accident occurred, although our colleagues informed him very quickly and called him several times in succession.

Stopping such criminal, inhuman, and antinational acts would be to the honor of the responsible authorities. As for ourselves, as for all genuinely patriotic and democratic journalists, this incident does not scare us but rather encourages us even more to always write the truth on the basis of democratic principles, in the service of the homeland and the nation, regardless of whom this pleases or pains.

We are not scared by the anonymous threats and telephone calls that have increased in frequency recently, or by Mafia assassination attempts like the one the day before yesterday.

Television Report Challenged

AU2609073391 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 21 Sep 91 p 1

[Article by Qemal Sakajeva and Mehmet Elezi: "After the Crime—Detection or an Alibi?"]

[Text] In its final news broadcast on Thursday evening [19 September], television surprised us with a new report on the assassination attempt against the group of journalists near Fushe Kruje on 18 September. The report referred to the Ministry of Public Order and the Investigator-General's Office. As we were told, because we are sick and cannot sit in front of the screen to watch all the programs prepared under the care of Mr. Fatmir Kumbaro, television interrupted a discussion program in order to present this report as something "special," which is a new practice for our television.

In flagrant contradiction of the truth that we stated to the investigators in our role as witnesses and published in yesterday's edition of BASHKIMI, it was stated in the beginning that our car was struck as it "deviated" from the road. They might as well have said that we deviated in order to embrace our assailant!

It seems that those who devised the communique are unhappy, not to say in despair, about the way matters have turned out because they reduce everything to a trivial "deviation." It is of no importance to them that we were rammed by someone with great experience in doing such things, that we turned somersaults and landed upside down in a ditch, where, injured and trapped under the car, we were under water and only managed to escape through a broken window.

The contradictory character of the communique is striking. While it is stated that the forces of order went to the scene of the incident immediately, the television report showed nothing but a patch of asphalt, some grass, and so forth, as if it were a place where we had stopped for a picnic. Why did the television not show our damaged car, which lay in the water for hours, thus giving viewers a fuller idea of the extent and seriousness of what took place?

We have not accused anyone and have no desire to do so without facts. However, there is a whiff of something unpleasant about the way in which official spokesmen on television have concealed the circumstances and minimized them beyond all recognition. If this happens with journalists, who are representatives of public opinion, what would happen in the case of other people?

When one sees as if in broad daylight how television conceals the circumstances and true colors of the tragedy, everyone has the right to suspect the authenticity of the culprit displayed on the screen. Even a simpleton knows that, if the need arises, such an alibi is the simplest and most commonplace kind that can be devised.

As independent journalists, we do not serve any political party but only democracy and the all-national Albanian cause. It would be to the honor of the specialized organs,

if they really are as impartial and democratic as is claimed, to detect and punish the culprits in the crime on the basis of the law instead of providing an alibi.

One can imagine how compromising this alibi is, if it comes from official organs.

European Parliament Delegates Visit Strikers

AU2609070391 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] In the course of its visit to our country, the delegation of the European Parliament headed by Mr. Glyn Ford went today to the Frederik Shiroka Surgical Hospital in Tirana, where the delegation was welcomed by the hospital's director, Candidate of Sciences Dr. Ilir Mazreku. He informed the delegation about the work of the hospital's doctors and staff to protect the people's health and to train students and specialist surgical staff for the country's districts. He also emphasized the need for material aid, surgical instruments, technical assistance, and so forth. The European Parliament delegation then visited the surgical and orthopedic wards and the Cardiological Department, among others.

The European Parliament delegation then went to the Tirana Sports Center, where about 100 former political prisoners have shut themselves up on hunger strike for five days. Vladimir Kosturi, chairman of the Hunger Strike Committee, and the strikers Viktor Martini, Xhemil Demi, and others stressed in conversations with the delegation the five demands they have submitted and stated that they will not end the strike until these demands are met. They called on the European Parliament, other European organizations, the United Nations, and the national and international public to support their demands and to help get them solved. Mr. Glyn Ford, leader of the European Parliament delegation, greeted those on hunger strike and stressed that he will raise their problems in the European Parliament.

Prime Minister Returns From Visit to Greece

Popov Calls Talks Constructive

AU2609085691 Sofia BTA in English 2253 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 25 (BTA)—Tonight Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis said that his talks with Bulgarian Prime Minister Dimitur Popov had been very useful and that he and his Bulgarian counterpart would hold a private meeting after the official dinner. Mr. Popov added: "We held constructive and fruitful talks." The prime ministers were unanimous that the Bulgarian-Greek relations are a powerful factor of stability in the Balkans. Bulgaria and Greece will do their best to preserve the peace, security and stability in the region and will support the peaceful initiatives of the European Community and the CSCE. The sides expressed their desire that the cancelled Athens conference on the developments in Yugoslavia be held at an appropriate time and place.

In their joint communique and at a press conference later on the prime ministers once again pledged their support for the Athens initiative for removing offensive weapons from the common borders of Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey and said that they are ready to cooperate with all the interested parties in specifying and carrying out this proposal.

Asked about their views on the situation in Yugoslavia, Mr. Mitsotakis and Mr. Popov said that they are determined to share in the peaceful solution of the Yugoslav problems and in preserving the country's integrity.

Mr. Popov said that he and his Greek counterpart had observed their gentlemen's agreement not to discuss any problems connected with the Republic of Macedonia and stressed the fact that the Bulgarian-Greek dialogue is not directed against third countries and peoples. Mr. Mitsotakis emphasized that the bilateral relations are extremely good and that their foundations are solid due to the stable policy of friendship supported by the peoples and by all the political parties in the two countries. This is a serious guarantee that the Bulgarian-Greek relations will continue to improve. Mr. Mitsotakis and Mr. Popov said that Greece and Bulgaria have a great economic potential which will be put to the best use in the interests of the two countries.

Mr. Popov and the accompanying delegation will return to Bulgaria tomorrow.

Popov Statement Reported

AU2609105591 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Report by Galya Khristova]

[Text] A short while ago, Mr. Dimitur Popov, chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers, returned from his working visit to Greece. He was welcomed by journalists at Sofia Airport. Our reporter Galya Khristova was among them and is now with us in the studio.

[Khristova] The visit by Prime Minister Popov to Greece took place only a few days after the postponement of the Balkan meeting in Athens. The visit confirmed the traditionally good state of relations between the two countries. I emphasize this fact in particular because recently various opinions, evaluations, and even speculations emerged, insinuating that the contacts between the two neighboring countries have somewhat deteriorated. This was actually the first question Mr. Popov answered directly. He was asked whether a Balkan meeting is likely to take place soon. The answer was yes. Its preparation is imminent, and all interested countries are invited to participate in it.

Mr. Popov once more dwelt on the basic subjects of the talks between the two prime ministers. He announced the signing of a Bulgarian-Greek Friendship and Cooperation Treaty, which is expected to take place very soon, even before the 13 October elections. Mr. Popov pointed out in this connection and in connection with the visit that the particular active share of the Bulgarian side for the prompt preparation of the meeting should be emphasized. He also announced that the Greek side is prepared to grant $50 million to Bulgaria [words indistinct], while the establishment of cultural centers in the two capitals should be expected in the near future

In addition to the discussion on investments, special attention was naturally devoted to the question of security in the Balkans. In this connection, the Bulgarian side once more insisted on proposing the withdrawal of armaments at the Bulgarian-Greek-Turkish borders. The prime minister, however, stressed that the discussion on international issues did not touch upon the situation in third countries.

Last but not least, Mr. Popov expressed his satisfaction over the visit and bilateral talks in Athens. [passage indistinct]

Greek Reportage

WA2609072291

For Athens reportage on the visit by Prime Minister Dimitur Popov to Greece, including reports on his talks with Greek Prime Minister Konstandinos Mitsotakis, please see the Greece section of the 25 September West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Foreign Minister Departs for UNGA Session

AU2609070691 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] On 25 September, Viktor Vulkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs, departed for New York. He will lead the Bulgarian delegation to the UN General Assembly session.

According to the preliminary program, the Bulgarian foreign minister will speak at the UN General Assembly on 3 October.

Before his departure, Minister Vulkov told reporters that he will have active diplomatic contacts in New York. More than 25 meetings with government leaders, foreign ministers, legislators, and other officials are envisaged. Meetings will take place with the foreign ministers of the United States, the USSR, Italy, Germany, and France.

Repairs Continue at Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant

AU2609105091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Repair works on the first, third, and fifth reactors at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant are still in progress. The repairs are aimed at improving the safety systems and at supplying the reactors with nuclear fuel.

The second and fourth reactors are functioning normally, while the sixth reactor, which was recently put into operation, is functioning at 50 percent of its 1,000-megagwatt capacity.

The sixth reactor is expected to be temporarily taken out of operation in the coming days so that its technical parameters can be checked and some shortcomings eliminated. Taking the reactor out of operation is part of the technological program for conducting tests while the plant continues to operate.

Complaints Issued About Pollution in Ruse

Roman Urged To Stop Pollution

AU2409201191 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 24 (BTA)—Prime Minister Dimitur Popov addressed an urgent request to Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman to stop the pollution of the city of Ruse on the Danube, the Government Press Department announced today. According to information of the Bulgarian Environment Ministry, today's emission of chemical pollutants over Ruse almost quintupled the admissible level.

Mr. Dimitur Popov asked Mr. Petre Roman to intervene personally to identify the cause of the pollution. Mr. Popov talked with the Romanian ambassador in Sofia and was assured that he will receive information through diplomatic channels. Mr. Petre Roman visited Bulgaria some ten days ago and together with Mr. Dimitur Popov pledged to guarantee personally the settlement of this problem.

As of September 19, the Giurgiu installations on the opposite bank of the Danube are operating at a 10 percent capacity, Mr. Pop, Romania's minister of the environment, told the Bulgarian deputy minister of the environment, Prof. Valentin Bosevski, over the phone. Mr. Pop doubted that while working at this capacity, these installations could pollute Ruse. But the readings taken at 6 a.m. today showed pollution exceeding the admissible level four times, Mr. Bosevski stressed. He said he could personally guarantee that there are no chlorine polluters in Ruse. Mr. Bosevski called the allegations that Bulgaria exports chlorine to Romania ungrounded. Since January 1 Bulgaria has not exported a gram of chlorine for the Giurgiu industry, Prof. Bosevski said.

Bulgarian Prime Minister Dimitur Popov will make a special statement in connection with the pollution of Ruse in Athens, where he is paying a visit. From there Mr. Popov will phone Romania's Prime Minister Mr. Petre Roman.

Tomov Complains to Ambassador

AU2609090391 Sofia BTA in English 2202 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Sofia, September 25 (BTA)—Today Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, deputy prime minister, invited Mr. Petrescu, Romania's ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with the latest gas-pollution of the town of Ruse.

Mr. Tomov told the Romanian ambassador that at 6 a.m. on September 24 the concentration of chlorine ions in the air of Ruse was 0.857 per cubic metre, while the permissible norm is below 0.200 per cubic metre, the Government Press Center announced.

Mr. Petrescu was acquainted with a report prepared by experts from the Bulgarian Ministry of the Environment, according to which in Ruse there [are] no emitters of dangerous gases in inadmissible concentrations.

According to Bulgarian experts, the gas-pollution of Ruse is caused by emissions released by the chemical works in Giurgiu.

The Bulgarian Government is alarmed by the fact that Romania is going to start the chlorine-employing titanium and zirconium production and by the refusal of the Romanian side to admit Bulgarian experts to the chemical works in Giurgiu.

Mr. Tomov said that Bulgaria would be left with no other choice but to refer the matter to the European Community, requesting its assistance.

Correction to BSP Provoking Racial Tension

AU2609104791

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "BSP Allegedly Provokes Racial Tension," published in the 25 September East Europe DAILY REPORT, page 8:

Column one, first paragraph, first sentence, make read: [Editorial Report] Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian... (correcting processing indicator)

Joint Federal Assembly Session Opens 24 Sep

'People's Control' Bill Discussed

LD2609024591 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Report by correspondent Jan Kulhavy on the opening of the 17th joint session of the CSFR Federal Assembly in Prague on 24 September]

[Text] The Federal Assembly agreed that this session will end on 4 October and that whatever is not completed will be passed to the 18th joint session of the two Federal Assembly chambers.

Federal Control Minister Kvetoslava Korinkova explained the first bill of the session: On Control in the CSFR. I noted her words. Unlike the current law, which places control of the economic area and of the state administration under the unified political organizational system of the so-called people's control, the new law sets the principles of control on the way the economy is managed (?purely from the funds of the federation). It defines the rights and duties of the Ministry of Control of the Federation and its relation to other state bodies. The bill was endorsed. However, the Assembly did not endorse a Federal Assembly Presidium report on the Federal fund of market regulation in agriculture. The individual committees will convene tomorrow, and the joint meeting of the two chambers will continue on 26 September.

Dubcek Briefs Session

LD2609025791 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1930 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Federal Assembly Chairman Alexander Dubcek briefed the plenum on the Commission for Preparing a New Constitution's activities. A working draft of the Constitution has been worked out, with the exception of the passage that concerns delimiting powers. The deputies then decided that the agenda of the 17th joint meeting will include a draft implementation bill on the referendum and an initiative draft of a constitutional bill on the division of property of CSFR between the Czech and the Slovak Republics, in the case of demise of the Federation. The deputies then went on to adopt a bill on control in Czechoslovakia that will create a modern system and will definitively divide the control roles between the Federal and the Republican governments. The deputies did not adopt a legal measure of the Presidium on the Federal fund of market regulation in agriculture, which has thus lost its validity. The Federal Government submitted this measure to solve the sales crisis. Further progress will be decided upon by the Federal Assembly Presidium. The joint session of both chambers will continue on 26 September.

Dlouhy Seeks Reconsideration of Agricultural Fund

LD2509205491 Prague CTK in English 1825 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sept 25 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy told reporters today if the Federal Assembly (parliament) stuck to its negative stand on legislation setting up a Federal fund for the regulation of the agricultural and food market, the Federal Government would be unable to allocate money on the purchase of agricultural surpluses in the last quarter of 1991.

Referring to the parliament's failure to pass legislation on the establishment of the fund yesterday, Dlouhy said the fund is part of a draft agricultural policy to be discussed by the Czechoslovak Government on October 3. The government planned to establish the fund also in the future. The fund was to be used for intervention purchases by the state of agricultural produce from purchase, distribution and storage companies at guaranteed contractual prices, and its sale at home and abroad.

Dlouhy said the outcome of the parliament's debate was a misunderstanding. Unless the legislation is approved, assistance to farmers will be jeopardised. Dlouhy voiced the conviction that the parliament will discuss the legislation as soon as possible and approve it.

Thirty-six per cent of grain surpluses are yet to be purchased. The intervention purchase of milk is threatened, Economics Ministry officials said. If the fund were not set up, tripartite trade between the Soviet Union, industrial countries and Central European states might be endangered. Czechoslovakia has listed products it might supply to the Soviet Union. Most of them are agricultural products, Dlouhy said.

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Czech Agriculture Minister Bohumil Kubat was surprised at the fact that the Slovak part of the Federal parliament House of Nations did not approve the legal measure on the establishment of the fund. Till the end of the current year the fund would be advantageous mainly for Slovak farmers. He explained that the state would purchase surpluses from the Slovak republic as in the Czech republic demand and supply are almost balanced. The disapproval of the legislation can be seen as "another measure towards Slovakia's secession", Kubat said.

'Small' Nuclear Power Station Accident Confirmed

LD2509145991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] The Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Committee has confirmed that a small accident took place over the weekend in a block of the Jaslovske Bohunice nuclear power station that was decommissioned at the end of the 1970's.

In reply to an inquiry by the Hungarian Atomic Energy Office, Czechoslovak officials in charge emphasized that the fault was so tiny that officially they were not even compelled to report it.

Baksay Says Independent Slovakia Not Viable

AU2509141891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 23 Sep 91 p 2

["(NO)"-signed report: "Independent Slovakia Would Not Survive"]

[Text] Bratislava—On the television program "The Summary of the Week", CSFR Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay spoke about the economic impact the CSFR breakup would have on the Slovak Republic:

"If an independent Slovak state is established, we must set up a bank, which would cost 15.639 billion korunas. Setting up a Slovak police force would cost 2.996 billion korunas, and an army as much as 63.350 billion korunas. For creating our own marketing network, we would have to pay 1.42 billion korunas. Yearly expenditures for the ambassadors abroad would amount to 1 billion 178 thousand [number as published] korunas, and yearly costs for customs administration would amount to 384.194 million korunas. From this, it ensues that the overall financial burden would be 5,626 korunas per year per person, including newborn children—all that, in addition to the present tax burden. I have not expressed numerically a large number of other problems. The Slovak Republic's share of Czechoslovak exports is 27 percent. This is the only foreign currency income for the Slovak Republic. As soon as the CSFR is divided in two, the balance of payments will be in disequilibrium. The internal convertibility of the koruna would immediately cease to exist in Slovakia, and restrictions would have to be imposed on convertible currencies. This would cause an immediate end to free enterprise, and we would return to the economic situation of less than two years ago. The Slovak Republic would be able to exist economically for a year at most. From the geopolitical point of view, this would actually mean the liquidation of the Slovak Republic. That is, politicians who are trying to assert Slovakia's independence—either in full knowledge of what they are doing, or because they are not familiar with economic principles—are liquidating the Slovak nation as a whole.

Ministry Seeks To 'Deindustrialize' Slovakia

LD2609034391 Prague CTK in English 1715 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Bratislava Sept 25 (CTK)—Slovak Industry Minister Jan Holcik said today the Ministry was seeking to de-industrialise Slovakia, which will require re-orientating in particular the chemical industry towards highly efficient exportable production. He noted the current complicated situation in the Slovak industry was caused by the collapse of markets in former Eastern bloc countries as well as by its inconvenient structure. As raw materials came from East European countries, it was above all heavy industry that was concentrated in Slovakia, Holcik told journalists. He said the Ministry will also seek eliminating energy-intensive production. According to estimates, there is a 30-per cent over-employment rate in the chemical industry, Holcik said, pointing out a paradoxical fact that wages have been continuously rising by 15 per cent while labour productivity in Czechoslovakia declined by 20 per cent. He noted that nearly 70 per cent of the gross national product is created by the industry. The Ministry succeeded in the seven months of this year to maintain a 3.49-per cent unemployment rate while the average unemployment rate in Slovakia was 8.72 per cent in August, Holcik said. Reconstruction of the industry is impossible without foreign capital participation, Holcik said and added that German capital has the highest share at present (87 per cent). The share of overall foreign capital participation in Slovakia is only two per cent.

Turkey's President Discusses Bilateral Cooperation

AU2509141591 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 Sep 91 p 5

[Interview with Turkish President Turgut Ozal by Viliam Buchert and Zdenek Vanicek; place and date not given: "Turkey Will Help Us"]

[Text] On the occasion of the Turkish President Turgut Ozal's visit, which has just begun, we asked the head of the Turkish state for a short interview:

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Mr. President, what is your opinion on the future of the CSCE and the Turkish and Czechoslovak roles in this process?

[Ozal] A clear definition of common goals and operational strategy, or agreement on the course of action, should be derived from the security process itself while respecting stable multinational institutions and mechanisms that have been established in Europe. I am of the opinion that the new European setup does not correspond to our intentions. The security process should also protect the rights and basic freedoms of ethnic minorities. If a country violates ethnic rights, this has an adverse effect on its own [foreign] relations and on stability in the respective region. The upcoming Helsinki conference that should take place next year will be another important opportunity for the participants to strengthen the process even more—despite the fact that security and stability in Europe are increasing. Turkey will be open and accessible to every constructive suggestion and it will be prepared to cooperate with Czechoslovakia.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] What is your opinion on the CSFR position within Europe that is assuming a new shape?

[Ozal] I am pleased to say that Czechoslovakia has assumed a well-deserved place in the European Council. Turkey sees this as important fact and actively supports Czechoslovak membership in this institution. I believe that the enduring and strong belief of the Czech and

Slovak nations in democracy and human rights has helped Czechoslovakia quickly become a European Council member. Thanks to the revolutions in the fall of 1989, Central and East European countries have reinstated their sovereignty and have adopted, to various degrees, policies leading to democracy, to a law-abiding state, to the respect for human rights, and to a market economy. At present, the global concept of the market and the political multi- polarity of the integrated European economy are characteristics belonging to the international climate. I believe that the new European political climate will be established in a reasonable way and that the successful transition of the Central and East European nations to flexible market economies is the top-priority.

[MLADA FRONTA DNES] Will your country support Czechoslovakia in its efforts to take its place among advanced countries on the old continent?

[Ozal] Turkey is ready to fully support Czechoslovakia's efforts to liberalize its economy. I would like to stress that if the economy is to be transformed into a fully functioning market economy, legal and institutional foundations must be established. In particular, all the economic objectives should be defined. We must weigh the importance of each objective, determine the limits we can go to, and what policy we should apply. Organizational structure of the economy should be established during this process. Czechoslovakia will feel a great need for the influx of foreign capital, technology, methods of modern control, and trading facilities. Through scientific, economic, and technical programs, Turkey can help train experts in these fields. On the other hand, Turkish entrepreneurs are prepared to intensify their activity in the CSFR in the form of joint stock companies, direct investments, and transfers of technology.

Albanian Failure To Meet Contracts Viewed

AU2409145591 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Sep 91 p 8

[Article by Jozef Kiss from the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade: "Development of Relations With Albania"]

[Excerpts] Until 1990, Czechoslovakia occupied an important place in the foreign trade of the Republic of Albania. The accounting of mutual deliveries of goods and services took place in clearing rubles on the basis of mandatory lists of goods agreed upon annually. In the years 1989 to 1990, the CSFR was the only country that maintained a high turnover with Albania. In 1990, total trade exchange turnover amounted to approximately 86 million clearing rubles.

Machinery and equipment, rolled stock, and chemical products accounted for the bulk of Czechoslovak exports to Albania, while agricultural products and tobacco accounted for 60 percent and raw materials (iron-nickel ore, chrome ore, nickel, and asphalt) for 30 percent of Albanian exports to the CSFR.

Under the new trade agreement concluded between the two governments on 26 October 1990, a change of principle in mutual economic relations occurred on 1 January 1991. The agreement, while awarding the most-favored-nation status, lays down accounting of mutual payments in clearing dollars in conformity with conditions that are common in the world and in accordance with the foreign exchange laws and other regulations valid in the CSFR and Albania. [passage omitted]

The course of mutual trade following the switch to clearing dollars reflects the economic problems that have accumulated in the Republic of Albania over a long period of time, against the background of the complicated development of the domestic political situation. At present, contracts worth roughly 16.3 million of clearing dollars on deliveries of goods from the CSFR to the Republic of Albania are concluded between organizations from the two countries, of which deliveries worth 15 million clearing dollars were effected by 30 July 1991. Concluded contracts for imports of goods from the Republic of Albania to the CSFR, on the other hand, represent a volume of only about 5 million clearing dollars. Of this, contracts for deliveries of fresh fruit and vegetables represent about 3 million clearing dollars. However, Albanian organizations have been redirecting these exports to areas that are more advantageous for them economically, especially areas with a freely convertible currency, which has resulted in an undesirable Czechoslovak surplus in the balance of payments. The overcoming of the present negative tendencies through one-sided imports to the CSFR is, therefore, becoming a limiting factor for Czechoslovak exporters to this area [sentence as published]. It also cannot be ignored that the new conditions of trade that have been in force since 1 January 1991 have substantially raised demands on Albanian exporters, as far as the competitiveness of their goods and services on the Czechoslovak market is concerned. [passage omitted]

Public's Trust in Army 'Steadily Decreasing'

LD2609033591 Prague CTK in English 1557 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Prague Sept 25 (CTK)—Trust of Czechoslovakia's citizens in the Czechoslovak Army is steadily decreasing, Lieutenant Colonel Premysl Duben said at a briefing of the Czechoslovak Defence Ministry today. He informed journalists about the results of an extensive public opinion poll, conducted by the Czech Institute for Public Opinion Research and the Czechoslovak Army's Institute of Social Researches last June. Duben said 46 per cent of Czechoslovak citizens trust and support the Czechoslovak Army (against 54 per cent in autumn last year). The public is incrasingly critical of the Army's ability to defend the country, Duben said. 47 per cent of citizens (against 87 per cent in 1980) think the Czechoslovak Army has up-to-date equipment. 59 per cent

believe the Czechoslovak soldiers are well trained (86 per cent in 1980), and 29 per cent consider the soldiers' discipline and morals to be good (75 per cent in 1980). About 14 per cent of the respondents have the feeling that Czechoslovakia faces a military threat. A majority of Czechoslovak citizens think Czechoslovakia should have a united army or at least a united army command. All citizens in the Czech Republic (10.3 million inhabitants), which forms the Czechoslovak federation with the Slovak Republic (5.3 million inhabitants), believe the Army should be one. In Slovakia, this view is taken by a majority of the population. Most men who start their 18-month military service after turning 18 would like to serve in the republic where they were born. 40 per cent of citizens think the military service is a waste of time, yet, two thirds of respondents consider the Army an educational institution. 56 per cent of Czechoslovak citizens respect career soldiers and 38 per cent do not respect them. 75 per cent of Czechoslovak citizens regard military career comparable to any other.

Parties View Transylvanian Emigre Government News

AU2609121891 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 25 Sep 91 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Transylvanian Government Provocation"]

[Text] A group calling itself the emigre government of Transylvania is reported to be active in Budapest. On 24 September, our correspondents asked a few interested parties what they thought of this piece of information. The Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] suspects that this is a provocation, so for the time being, it refuses to comment on the news. Tamas Katona, political state secretary at the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told our correspondent that he thought this information was unfounded. We also spoke to Mihaly Vicsotka, who strongly denied being the spokesman of the so-called emigre government.

At the Bucharest headquarters of the RMDSZ, we were told that the formation of a so-called Transylvanian emigre government in Budapest was a crazy provocation instigated by political adventurers. The scandalous news reached the RMDSZ during a working meeting of the party's legislative faction on Monday night [23 September]. Given that the RMDSZ senators and deputies suspect that this is a serious anti-Hungarian provocation, they will not even deign to comment on the affair until they receive further information from credible and verifiable sources.

Tamas Katona is directing the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs during Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky's stay in New York. Katona told our correspondent that he had no information on this affair, apart from the news he had read in the press. However, this does not reflect a lack of information; it means that the Ministry is dealing with (the great number) of existing real problems and concentrating its efforts on the solution of these problems. The state secretary expressed his conviction that there was no need for an official statement on this affair. If the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement, it would attribute too much importance to this unfounded information.

Mihaly Vicsotka is not the press spokesman of the group calling itself the Emigre Government of Transylvania. Our fellow reporter told our correspondent this over the telephone on 24 September, thereby refuting the statement made previously by "government secretary" Arpad Toszo.

Vicsotka himself said that he was linked to the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP], and he also told us that it was the chairman of the FKgP's Budapest 18th District branch, an old friend of his, who had invited him to attend one of the meetings of the Transylvanian Circle. As a journalist, our colleague wrote a report on the event, but this was never published in their newspaper, PESTI HIRLAP [BUDAPEST NEWSPAPER]. In the end, Vicsotka's article was published in KURIR [MESSENGER]. Vicsotka told us that he did not know Mr. Toszo.

Smallholders' Deputy Comments

AU2509150391 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 24 Sep 91 p 4

[Interview with Mrs. Tamas Simon, deputy chairman of the Independent Smallholders' Party, by Kosa; place and date not given: "Perhaps a Provocation—Transylvanian Emigre Government Guest of the Smallholders"]

[Text] Rumors emerged recently that the 18th Budapest district organization of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP] hosted the so-called Transylvanian Emigre Government, whose leader Zaharia Dan said that "Trianon is dead, and it is a shameful spot on Europe's map."

We asked Mrs. Tamas Simon about the party presidium's reaction to this action:

[Simon] We do not have a presidium position yet, and it is possible that we will hold an extraordinary meeting on this issue. My personal opinion is that there have always been emigre governments, and their weight depends on their support abroad and on who are their members. We do not know yet how they contacted our 18th district party organization, but the fact and nature of this contact does not show a really strong power behind all this. I learned about all this during my trip in Subcarpathia. I also talked to State Secretary Tamas Katona about this, and he said that, for the time being, he did not attribute great importance to the emergence of this emigre government.

[Kosa] Do you fear a possible provocation behind all this?

[Simon] Personally, I cannot exclude the possibility of a provocation behind all this, and we will also discuss this possibility at the presidium meeting.

[Kosa] [FKgP Chairman] Jozsef Torgyan has often been accused lately of the fact that, his declarations on "necessary corrections" refer to border revision. Thus, the party can easily face provocations.

[Simon] It is a fact that the Trianon peace arrangement is disintegrating, but—and I again tell you my own opinion—border changes will solve nothing because it is impossible to redraw the borders in Eastern Europe without violating other national minority rights.

Antall Receives SFRY Republic Leaders

LD2609011491 Budapest MTI in English 1915 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 25 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall met Slovenian President

Milan Kucan and Foreign Minister Dmitrij Rupel today. What follows is the statement of the press office of the prime minister about the meetings:

President Kucan expounded the Slovenian position on the Yugoslav crisis and expressed readiness to further cooperation with Hungary. Antall gave briefs on Hungary's consistent diplomatic steps related to the crisis. The Yugoslav crisis can no longer be considered an internal affair, he said, thus international efforts to settle it have increased. Beside the eventual recognition of the sovereignty of Yugoslavia's six member republics, the future forms of their relations should be discussed. The sides agreed that, beside the inviolability of Yugoslavia's external and internal borders, minority rights should be guaranteed in the republics. They also agreed that, besides member republics delegates, representatives of Yugoslavia's national minorities should be invited to The Hague peace conference.

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Yesterday, Antall met republic of Macedonia President Kiro Gligorov. In friendly atmosphere, they exchanged views on the nature of the Yugoslav crisis, the principles and ways of settlement, and the future of Yugoslavia and bilateral relations. Antall said Hungary advocates a peaceful and democratic settlement, with the biggest role played by the united and resolute action of international organizations, such as the U.N. Security Council and the EC. Hungary has a vested interest in the stability of the region, because of favourable conditions it would create for the soonest transition to a market economy and inflow of foreign investments. Hungary chooses the path of self constraint, Antall stated, not wishing to reap benefits from the events in Yugoslavia nor interfere in their internal affairs. The sides shared the view that a stable ceasefire is a precondition for a peaceful settlement. The simultaneous recognition of the six Yugoslav member republics' sovereignty is both a possible and desirable outcome of The Hague peace conference. This step would not rule out the possibility of establishing a loose community. The sides also agreed that personal and local autonomy should be guaranteed for all national minorities in all member republics. Antall and Gligorov shared the intention of developing Hungarian-Macedonian relations.

President Kucan Meets Foreign Affairs Committee

LD2609013691 Budapest MTI in English 1348 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 25 (MTI)—Yugoslavia is an artificial formation organized along military defence lines, and over the past few decades also on ideological bases, which has become a historical anachronism, Milan Kucan said with regard to the future of Yugoslavia. The president of the Republic of Slovenia, currently paying an official visit to Hungary, on Wednesday met members from parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee. The head of state of Slovenia waiting to receive independence, stated that although in principle Yugoslavia granted equal rights to its nations, in reality it played attendance on Serbian interests. Serbia has always regarded Yugoslavia as a structure serving its national ambitions. Thus, Yugoslavia has become an anachronism, and the real question is whether the obsolete integrational basis can be replaced by something else. It was little more than a year ago that Croatia and Slovenia proposed basing a renewed integration of sovereign states on some sort of pragmatic economic co-operation. At that time the proposal had no support either in Yugoslavia or in the international arena, but by now the war has swept away the confidence that would make such an integration possible. According to the Slovenian position, the Yugoslav state federation, speaking practically, has ceased to exist, although international public opinion appears to stick to this dogma. On the other hand, Slovenia insists on its independence and warns the hesitating world: If the republic had been recognized earlier, the devastating war could have been avoided.

The chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Gyula Horn, said that although the Slovenian president's bitter words were understandable, the conduct of the key figures on the international stage was largely determined by the precedent value of the Yugoslavian crisis. Foreign intervention in restructuring the Yugoslavian state would set a precedent for other alliance systems, which is a delicate issue in the event of several states. Hungary has no objection in principle to recognizing the independence of Croatia and Slovenia, but there is the question as to whether it would help curb the war in the present situation, or would add even more fuel to the fire.

Slovenia is of the view that today the road to peace can only be achieved through the recognition of the independent republics. Milan Kucan added that after the expiry of the Brioni Agreement, which also provides for the suspension of the declarations of independence, Slovenia will be adopting further economic and financial measures to further her independence. The Slovenian president asked questions about the Hungarian position on the Yugoslavian crisis. The answers revealed that the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee have slightly different views depending on their party affiliations.

Gyorgy Csoti, vice-president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF), stressed that the Yugoslavian crisis at its present stage could only be solved by international force. This gives added importance to the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia, or possibly the other republics as well, by the widest circle from the United States to the Soviet Union. On the other hand, Committee Chairman Gyula Horn (Hungarian Socialist Party) believed it was not absolutely necessary for the United States and the Soviet Union to take a stand for the independence of Croatia and Slovenia. The Committee members agreed that for the time being, Hungary faces no direct threat as a result of the Yugoslavian crisis, but it gives cause for concern that the conflict might escalate and drag in

neighbouring countries. Hungary has an interest in a rapid and just settlement, and the restoration of peace as soon as possible.

Gligorov Meets Foreign Affairs Committee

LD2609015191 Budapest MTI in English 1034 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 25 (MTI)—The grave Yugoslav conflict has reached a peak, according to Macedonia. By now, all sides might have understood that no victory can be won in this war, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov said in Budapest on Wednesday. Gligorov is currently in Hungary on an official visit. He met the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian parliament on Wednesday.

A permanent danger in Yugoslavia is posed by the social explosion that might occur due to the collapse of the economy. In such a situation, an important part will be played by the international public and international organizations that can exert political and economic pressure on the warring sides to observe a minimum of European norms, Gligorov said. The Macedonian president expressed his regret over the discord characterizing the international action concerning the Yugoslav crisis. "Such an attitude may encourage those wanting to gain advantage at the expense of others," Gligorov said. He rejected the idea of international intervention, saying that the best way to a solution would be if the process of integration into the European Communities could be speeded up, opening up perspectives for the sides affected in the Yugoslav conflict. It's no good "shifting" the borders inside Yugoslavia, Gligorov said. Due to the mixed population living in the country, any one solution may be just for one party, while being unjust for the other. A possible solution, in Gligorov's view, would be to give international guarantees for Serbs living in Croatia to be treated according to the highest European norms. A final key to resolving border conflicts, however, can only be offered by European integration.

Republic Presidents Meet Press

LD2609002191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1630 GMT 25 Sep 91

[From the "Extra" program]

[Excerpts] The Slovenian and Macedonian presidents have been holding talks in Hungary. Milan Kucan trusts that, after the Brioni Agreement expires on 7 October, the Armed Forces—which he called, uniequivocally, the Serbian Army—would not launch an offensive against Slovenia. [passage omitted]

Yugoslav Presidency President Stipe Mesic has again urged the United Nations to send peacekeeping forces to Yugoslavia. Similar thoughts were expressed by Slovenian President Milan Kucan after talks with Jozsef Antall. He discussed this subject with Republic President Arpad Goncz.

Milan Kucan told a news conference this afternoon that he feels that greater international pressure is necessary, particularly after the repeated failures of The Hague conference. The president says that the participation of peacekeeping forces is necessary, but that they must only be positioned on the dividing line marking the borders of the present republics. Milan Kucan called these historic borders. At the same time, the Slovenian president emphasized that the soldiers from the countries neighboring his country cannot participate in the peacekeeping forces.

The Yugoslav prime minister this morning called attention to the danger of the civil war spreading to Bosnia-Herzegovina within a short time. Meanwhile, Milan Kucan, in Budapest, expressed the opinion that what is happening in Yugoslavia is nothing other than two nations—Serbia and Croatia—waging war against each other. Kucan described the nature of the Serbian military actions as that of an act of conquest.

The Brioni Agreement, signed three months ago, expires on 7 October. After this, Slovenia will also continue its endeavors for independence, primarily by creating its own money and economy. Answering a question on whether he feared that Serbia will once again launch an offensive against Slovenia after 7 October, the president said that Milosevic et. al. cannot do this, for with this, it would become unequivocal to the world that their military strategy is none other than a policy of conquest. Serbia can also be deterred by the fact that it would reveal itself before international organizations like the United Nations and the UN Security Council with this step.

Meanwhile, the Serbian defense law has declared that all men between 16-60 are obligated for military service. Those who do not appear once called will be sentenced to 3-5 years in prison. However, according to the law, the death penalty can also be decreed in time of war.

At the Budapest news conference, Slovenian President Milan Kucan spoke of his understanding of Hungarian foreign policy, that after Latvia and Lithuania, Hungary cannot immediately recognize Slovenia's independence as the third. However, Slovenia is preparing for the period after the Brioni Agreement expires—that is, after 7 October. This is why it also wishes to strengthen inter alia also its economic contacts with Hungary. The Republic, which can be called economically developed, wishes to place its products on the fairly accessible markets, one of which seems to be the Hungarian market, too.

At the news conference, the Slovenian president was asked whether it was a kind of conspiracy that the Macedonian president happened to be here in Hungary, too, at the time when the Slovenian president was also having talks in Budapest. Milan Kucan replied that it was not an accident, because it was almost impossible in Yugoslavia for the Croatian and the Slovenian presidents to meet each other.

Meanwhile, Kiro Gligorov said in Budapest that in his republic tension is mounting because of the presence of the reservists of Montenegro and Serbia:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] You are the first Macedonian president to visit Hungary. The Hungarian Government position is well known: It urges the peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis. As an objective observer of the Serbo-Croatian opposition, is it possible to end this crisis quickly in Yugoslavia?

[Gligorov in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation] There is no war in Macedonia; therefore, we observe the clash somewhat more objectively, although we also feel its consequences, just the same as you, via the refugees. We do not see anything else but to solve the crisis via dialogue, and we will do everything we can to achieve this. [passage omitted]

We prepared a joint plan with Bosnia-Hercegovina President Izetbegovic for the settlement. We urged that an alliance of independent states should be established in Yugoslavia. We believe that this plan, with certain modifications, is still realistic and could form the basis of negotiations. We strive to preserve the loose alliance of states in Yugoslavia. Naturally, its prerequisite is further democratization and full recognition of minority rights. Thus, we, Macedonians, do everything both in foreign politics and in our relations maintained with the Yugoslav member republics to solve the crisis.

[Correspondent] Macedonia recently took a stand in a referendum in favor of independence and autonomy. How do you envisage this autonomous Macedonia?

[Gligorov] We would like to be a sovereign and independent state; however, we do not want to isolate ourselves. Our borders will be opened, and we will cooperate with all of our neighbors, with everybody prepared to negotiate about a future Yugoslav community. Of course, that is if we can come to an agreement at all about the basic principles of the operation of the community. We are preparing changes in Macedonia. We will introduce a full market economy, reprivatization, and with this we will prepare ourselves for joining the EC.

[Correspondent] Macedonian youngsters remain in the Yugoslav Army. What are your future plans regarding the Army?

[Gligorov] On our part, we could try influencing events by not sending the young people liable for military service to the People's Army. We made a decision about this recently. I believe we will contribute with this to the end of the war. The Federal Assembly does not convene its sessions. A similar thing is happening in the Federal Government too. The state Presidency does not function either, and this means that the Army has no commander-in-chief. In this situation, we can only do one thing: take our sons home.

[Correspondent] Is it true that extremist nationalists are arming themselves in Macedonia?

[Gligorov] This is false. No armed organization exists in Macedonia, no special troops operate, and we do not even want these sort of things to happen. The news that the majority in Macedonia is arming themselves is incorrect. Naturally, besides the public order forces and police units, no other organization is allowed to have weapons, and we have no reason to arm ourselves.

[Correspondent] What sort of rights will the sovereign and independent Macedonia give to the nearly one million Albanian minority?

[Gligorov] The Albanian minority has two parties in our country. The Albanians participated in the elections and sent 23 deputies to the legislature. The deputy speaker is also from Albania. [passage omitted]

We accept the European Charter on the right of national minorities, and we wish to apply this.

[Correspondent] In Yugoslavia today, nobody cares about the economy. How will the independent Macedonia manage to stay on its feet?

[Gligorov] This is a very difficult question. [passage omitted] I repeat that we are open to the world and give maximum advantages to foreign capital and investors. We hope that we will suceed in building the new Macedonia, our own independent republic. [end recording]

While the Yugoslav president has said that the civil war might spread to Bosnia-Hercegovina, the deputy prime minister of the republic feels the tension growing because reservists from Montenegro and Serbia remain in the republic. Muhamed Cengic held talks yesterday with Defense Secretary General Kadijevic. Bosnia-Hercegovina's deputy prime minister was interviewed by Radio Novi Sad correspondent Szilveszter Varga:

[Begin recording] [Varga] You held talks yesterday with Federal Defense Secretary Kadijevic. What were you able to achieve?

[Cengic,in Serbo-Croatian with superimposed Hungarian translation] Unfortunately, the relationship between the Army and Bosnia-Hercegovina is unsatisfactory. We established yesterday that both sides are at fault on this. We are at fault for not taking up adequate relations with the Armed Forces in time. The Army is at fault for not having tried to do this; rather, it wanted to prove its superiority through its measures.

We agreed with Kadijevic that we would develop proper relations. We hope that after this it will become clear who has what tasks and obligations. The Bosnia-Hercegovina Government is the lawful leadership of the republic, and it must see to the keeping of peace and order. The Army's task is to defend the country's borders. Only in exceptional cases can it participate in the quelling of ethnic conflict.

Since there is no large-scale hostility in Bosnia-Hercegovina, it is unnecessary to draw in the Army.

[Varga] Are the officers who live in the republic abiding by the commands of the military leadership? Or are they starting independent actions, like elsewhere?

[Cengic] They probably are beginning these, because it often happens that, only subsequently, does the military leadership acknowledge certain measures. Thus, some officers act first, and only afterward do they ask for approval from the military leadership, which then defends these officers.

[Varga] There has been a mobilization in Bosnia-Hercegovina, too. Was this measure legal?

[Cengic] We decided that we would not send the conscripts and the reservists to the crisis centers. In my opinion, a senseless war is taking place in Croatia. We do not know whether anyone has declared war on anyone, and we have no idea whatsoever about the war's objective.

The Army first said it was separating the warring sides. Now, it wants to convince us that it is defending its soldiers who have been forced into the barracks. There is no sense in this war, and it must be ended as soon as possible. This is why we feel that it is unnecessary to mobilize the population of Bosnia-Hercegovina. There is no need whatsoever for our soldiers to be lost for the interests and ambitions of someone else.

[Varga] If the Army finishes its military operations in Croatia, what do you think? Might it swing into attack against Bosnia-Hercegovina, too?

[Cengic] I do not believe so because, in that case, the military would find itself opposed by the entire population of the republic. In Bosnia-Hercegovina, the mix of the population is such that the military would be unable to bomb the settlements, because it would hit the houses of the Serbs, the Croats, and the Muslims alike. In the towns, there is virtually no building with two or more storeys in which there might not live Serbs, Croats, or Muslims. Therefore, in Bosnia-Hercegovina the Army could not take the side of one of the peoples, even if wanted to do so—that is, it could not pursue a war of the type in Croatia. If fights break out in the republic, we can expect a guerrilla war, and the military would prove unsuccessful in this. I believe that the Yugoslav Federal Army cannot allow itself to be the cause of a civil war in Bosnia- Hercegovina.

[Varga] Bosnia-Hercegovina President Izetbegovic said that the Muslims will not attack the Serbs; however, Serbian leaders in the republic have not assured you of reciprocity.

[Cengic] Izetbegovic said this, and we abide by it. The Serbian leadership only promised that they would not be the first to raise hands against the Muslim population. However, if a war breaks out, it is virtually all the same who started it. We can see what the result of this was in Croatia. The hospitals, schools, churches, and factories are in ruins. What we ought to compete about is who can be the first to stop the war, rather than who is able to start it.

[Varga] Serb sources already allege that extreme Muslims are attacking the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Is that true?

[Cengic] The Muslims have not raised hands against anyone. In Bosnia, two people of Muslim nationality have lost their lives so far. They were shot down by snipers. Pacifying the people and preventing a flare-up of fighting has been a big problem. However, the Muslims listen to President Izetbegovic, and I believe that they will stick by him, as well as by the republic government.

Our opinion is that peace must be preserved at all cost in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Varga] I know you are doing your utmost. Nevertheless, will this succeed?

[Cengic] Yes, if no one from Serbia, Croatia, or the Army intervenes. We certainly can preserve peace, because the majority of the people—90 percent of the republic's population—wants this. Thanks to the successful policy of President Izetbegovic, this is the situation now in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and if people continue to listen to him, this is how it will remain. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Hungary Will Not Be First To Recognize Slovenia

LD2609103891 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0430 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Hungary will have a new neighbor within minutes. The July moratorium that suspended the validity of Slovenia's independence statement for three months will soon expire. As [Slovene] President Kucan said, they are working on building an independent statehood. But one of the neighbors may decide not to officially recognize the new state. This is a difficult step, and it may have consequences because several hundred thousand Magyars live in Serbia, which is our neighbor. What can we do? I asked Janos Herman, spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

[Begin recording] [Herman] [passage omitted] I believe that when analyzing this question Hungarian diplomacy has to start from our primary goal. Our primary goal is that bloodshed in Yugoslavia should be stopped as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

We hope that a solution can be reached by the international forums that are currently holding talks on the issue. I would like to add that Hungary will not take the step, that is the recognition of a Yugoslav republic, on its own as the first country.

[Announcer] Many people believe that we should begin cooperation with Austria in some way, because the Austrians are in the same boat on this issue as us.

[Herman] Our primary goal must be, first of all, that this step should be taken in the framework of wide international cooperation, if it becomes justified. I believe it would not be appropriate for Hungarian diplomacy to take the initiative together with Austria. I believe this would not have a good response in Yugoslavia because it would give them a chance to make it sound as if there were efforts to restore a state formation that existed in a certain period of the past. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Thank you very much for coming to the studio. [end recording]

Jeszenszky Discusses Soviet, SFRY Relations

AU2509174391 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 24 Sep 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Peter Sereny in New York on 23 September: "Jeszenszky-Pankin Meeting—In the Spirit of Good Relations"]

[Text] Geza Jeszenszky arrived in New York on 22 September to participate in the U.N. General Assembly's week of diplomacy. He is to meet his Soviet counterpart, Boris Pankin, on the night of 23 September, as we go to press.

Our correspondent asked Geza Jeszenszky about this meeting, which is anticipated with great interest and which takes place during our negotiations on the basic agreement. By way of introduction, Jeszenszky emphasized that, less than two weeks ago, during the all-Europe meeting in Moscow, he already had a chance to have a separate conversation with Pankin; therefore, they would be meeting as old acquaintances in New York.

[Sereny] Mr. Jeszenszky, what will you be seeking at this meeting?

[Jeszenszky] The Soviet Union continues to be a world power, no matter what the future might bring. Russia will certainly exist, and there will also be some kind of system of links between the republics. We endeavor to continue mutually advantageous and maximally good relations with the Soviet Union just as with other countries.

[Sereny] After the coup, did anything change in Hungary's position on the basic agreement?

[Jeszenszky] We still consider valid the direction in which we started to lay down the principles at the end of 1990 and at the beginning of 1991. We are not demanding anything more than before the coup, just as [former statesman] Ferenc Deak did after the Prussian-Austrian war, a long time ago. In our view, the basic agreement could have been signed a long time ago....

[Sereny] If it had not been for the Kvitsinskiy formula that might have infringed our sovereignty...?

[Jeszenszky] This formula first appeared in this way in the press. Anyway, Kvitsinskiy is not in the Soviet foreign affairs leadership anymore. We now have every hope that the basic agreement can be completed at last.

[Sereny] Mr. Jeszenszky, will you also meet the foreign ministers of other major powers?

[Jeszenszky] We are planning to exchange views with U.S. Secretary of State Baker, French Foreign Affairs Minister Dumas, and German Foreign Affairs Minister Genscher. However, if the Security Council holds a meeting of foreign affairs ministers on the Yugoslav issue, then I will obviously meet with my colleagues who participate in this session. The last time I exchanged views with British Foreign Secretary Hurd was in Moscow.

[Sereny] Have you planned a separate meeting with your Yugoslav and Romanian counterparts in New York?

[Jeszenszky] No, but there might be plenty of unplanned opportunities to do so, for example, at the meeting of the Security Council, because Romania—whose foreign minister I know very well—is a member of this body, and Yugoslavia will be invited as an interested party. In the past, almost the only opportunity to get together was offered by being present at the UN General Assembly, but this year, I managed to exchange views with almost all of my European colleagues in the course of the pan-European negotiations.

[Sereny] If, as expected, the Security Council holds a session on a ministerial level on the Yugoslav issue in the middle of the week, what will you say in your speech?

[Jeszenszky] That depends on the situation, of course. Our basic views on peace and the need for a general charter on national minorities are well known. I hope that the latest cease-fire agreement will be more successful than the previous ones. It is not enough, though, for the international spectators to welcome this success, it is also important to politically assist a lasting solution.

Ministry Interested in Buying Former GDR Arms

LD2609032591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] Hungary would be pleased to buy former GDR Army weapons. This was confirmed by the Hungarian Defense Ministry state secretary. Antall Annus met in Bonn with the state secretary of the German defense portfolio and said that the Hungarian Army, with reduced number and worn-out military technology, would urgently need relatively modern weapons. At the same time, the government official did not comment on the recent German newspaper report to the effect that Hungary wants to buy weapons from Germany worth 340 million marks.

Statistics on Party Memberships, Budgets Published

AU2509140891 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Sep 91 p 8

[Report by Katalin Kekesi: "A Survey on Their Numbers—My Party, Tell Me...."]

[Excerpts] Despite the decreasing political interest in our new multiparty system, it is worth knowing the membership figures of a party. Those belonging to a party find it particularly important to know about the increase or decrease of their camp. The main lesson of our survey is that the distribution of forces in our National Assembly does not reflect the parties' membership figures. With the exception of one party, all the other parties speak of an increase in their membership since the legislative elections. [passage omitted]

At the time of the legislative elections last year, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] had 21,384 members in 342 organizations. Today, the party has 34,480 members in 800 party organizations. Membership fees range from 50 forints to 200 forints, and richer people, the old and new entrepreneurs can pay more.

MDF Deputy Chairman Imre Furman told us that the membership fees go to the basic organizations, and it depends on them whether they collect these fees or not. [passage omitted]

There has been no considerable change in the number of MDF members this year; previously, at the time following the referendum, several people left the party. At the moment, they speak of about 1,200 people leaving the party and 200 people joining the party. [passage omitted]

Similar to most parties, the MDF is mostly made up of intellectuals, employees, and entrepreneurs; these people make up 70 percent of the membership. The MDF complains that there are few women among its members, while they are often the passive sufferers of the men's political activity. As for the party members' age, the majority is in the 30 to 60-year range. [passage omitted]

The second largest party in the National Assembly, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], also increased its membership from 15,000 to 32,744 people. At present, the SZDSZ has 873 party organizations.

According to party director Istvan Vasarhelyi, the SZDSZ members felt the same disappointment as the one prevailing in the country. Many people think that there has not been a genuine change in the regime. [passage omitted]

Despite the internal criticism regarding their activity, their membership figures have not decreased. Only 177 people left the party and 74 people joined the party in the past two months. The SZDSZ members have started numerous cultural, sports, and political initiatives. [passage omitted]

The SZDSZ received 73 million forints for the first half of this year, and a further 1.1 million forints came in from membership fees.

The "paying" membership of the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP] has reached 57,400 people. The membership fee makes up 6.4 million forints. According to the general secretary, some 40 to 50 people, including outstanding intellectuals, inquire daily about the conditions of becoming members of the FKgP since the new leadership took office. [passage omitted]

About 60 percent of the FKgP membership is made up of peasants, one-fourth or one-fifth is made up of workers, and 10 to 15 percent is made up of intellectuals. The party received 84 million forints last year, and today the entire sum of the membership fees remains with the basic organizations.

The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] reports on a decrease in the party membership of 10,000 people. The membership stood at 50,000 at the time of the party's establishment in 1989. According to organizer Istvan Toth, many people "forgot themselves" in the party.

This went on until December 1989, when the influence of the new Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] became perceptible in certain counties. The fluctuation has been steady ever since. [passage omitted]

About 70 million forints is sent to the party organizations from the budget, and the counties manage these sums absolutely independently.

The Christian Democratic Party is the smallest coalition party with 16,057 members. Almost half of them are pensioners. If they accept the statute, former MSZMP members can also join the party, but they cannot take up leading positions for five years. The party sticks to the Christian democratic ideals, but religious practice is not a condition for acceptance. [passage omitted]

The Christian Democrats have a yearly budget of 59 million forints, which they regard as very little in view of the fact that their membership increased by four times. Their membership fees are moderate: 10 to 50 forints, and they do not collect membership fees from poor people.

The Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ], which is considered to be the young people's party, was established in the Istvan Bibo College on 30 March 1988. Its members vary between 14 and 35 years of age, and anyone can become a supporting member. Older people cannot be elected in any body. This party's membership is surprisingly small: 9,747 members in 424 party organizations. [passage omitted]

The FIDESZ received 64.4 million from the budget, and their membership fee is only 50 forints. [passage omitted]

Erno Ormandlaky, general secretary of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, comes up with two different

figures regarding their membership. According to him, there are 20,000 registered members who have a party card and pay membership fees, but there are only 6,000 regular members at the party organizations. The membership fee is 50 forints for everyone.

Half of the budget allocation is sent to the basic organizations. They receive 1.3 million forints monthly from the budget. [passage omitted]

According to Sandor Nyiro, deputy chairman of the MSZMP, if all the other parties gave real figures, then the MSZMP has a very good position. However, they do not publish figures on their membership, but they can always present the one member above 20,000. According to legal stipulations, this is needed in order to receive budget allocations.

They received 18 million forints from the state budget. Sandor Nyiro also complains about the impossible conditions of non-legislative parties and the lack of equal opportunities. [passage omitted]

Contrary to the rumors, the MSZMP is not only the party of old people and "nostalgic" people. One quarter of the MSZMP membership are active workers, and 8 percent of the membership have never been MSZMP members. [passage omitted]

Kupa Expects Foreign Deficit To Stabilize by 1993

LD2609035391 Budapest MTI in English 1802 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Budapest, September 25 (MTI)—Hungary's foreign deficit may level off by late 1991, two years earlier than prognosed, Minister of Finance Mihaly Kupa told the 29th annual meeting of Hungarian economists in Siofok today. Kupa said Hungary should invariably give priority to preserving its economic balance and halting inflation, even at the price of a still tolerable increase in unemployment. The minister expects the country's financial stability by late next year.

Industry Ministry Criticizes Privatization Rate

LD2609021791 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 24 Sep 91

[Text] The Industry and Trade Ministry considers the privatization rate to be slower than desired. At a forum held at the Budapest International Fair, it was also thought to be a bad thing that manufacturers—even after privatization of state enterprises—still do not undertake trading, despite the fact that abroad it is common practice. The deputy state secretary for the Ministry also reported that, in the first seven months of the year, domestic trade fell by 20 percent due to the drop in domestic demand, the lack of shopping tourism from the East, and the expansion of illegal trade.

Improvement Expected in Relations With PRC

LD2509213391 Warsaw PAP in English 0606 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 24—"Visits of President Lech Walesa and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to China may be expected in short time," Deputy Bronislaw Geremek said at the Warsaw airport Tuesday upon his return from China as head of the delegation of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee. Assessing his visit to Beijing, Geremek stated that it provided a possibility to discuss issues that hindered the development of Polish-Chinese relations and to exchange views on other questions. "The Polish delegation arrived in China aware that human rights are violated there and people are imprisoned for political views. We talked about these problems with our Chinese hosts. I think it aroused their discontent at times," Bronislaw Geremek said. He added that the political and economic relations between China and Poland had deteriorated over the past two years. "Two years after elections in Poland (which ended the Communist rule) and the massacre at the Tiananmen Square, these relations may be expected to improve. The Chinese side assured us they accepted the present situation in Poland as a result of the will of the Polish nation," Geremek stated.

Walesa, Skubiszewski Proposed PRC Visit Denied

LD2509213991 Warsaw PAP in English 1801 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 25—Lech Walesa is unlikely to pay an official visit to China by the end of this year, Andrzej Drzycimski, the press spokesman for the Polish president, said here Wednesday. The statement contradicts yesterday's enunciations by head of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee Bronislaw Geremek, who claimed upon his arrival from China that "visits of President Lecha Walesa and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski to China may be expected shortly". Drzycimski confirmed the fact that President Walesa has got an official invitation to visit China, but "the date of the visit has not been established", and the visit "is unlikely to take place before the end of 1991, first of all because of the political events of supreme importance for Poland which are lying ahead". Geremek had admitted that political and economic relations between Poland and China deteriorated over the last two years, and said the Polish parliamentary delegation to China which he was heading drew their hosts disconent at times, when they raised human rights issues.

'Deep Concern' Over Minority in Lithuania

LD2609041891 Warsaw PAP in English 2107 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 25—Sejm (lower house) deputies on Wednesday expressed deep concern over recent developments which have worsened the situation of Poles living in Lithuania and do not serve the development of good neighbourly relations. Deputies of the Sejm Committees for Foreign Affairs, Contacts with Poles Living Abroad and for National and Ethnic Minorities forwarded a proposal to the Lithuanian parliament to set up a joint commission which would discuss problems of Poles living in Lithuania and Lithuanians living in Poland. In a joint resolution of the three committees, deputies expressed an opinion that the two countries should create a model of mutually beneficial, good neighbourly relations that match human rights and national interests of the two societies and are in tune with international standards, human rights pacts, CSCE documents, Paris Charter of New Europe and Conventions of the Council of Europe. "We cannot be indifferent to the fate of Poles threatened with the deprivation of their civic rights, the right to self-government and normal cultural and intellectual development," deputies stressed in the document. Lithuanian authorities dissolved three weeks ago the self-governing councils in the Solechniki and Vilnius regions, in which ethnic Poles make up respectively 80 per cent and 60 per cent of the inhabitants, after accusing them of supporting last month's coup attempt in Moscow. Poland's Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, visiting Moscow two weeks ago, told his Lithuanian counterpart Algirdas Saudargas, that the dissolution of the councils was a direct blow to the 280,000-strong Polish minority which comprises about seven per cent of Lithuania's 3.6 million population. "Poland, as a neighbouring state, will have to defend the rights of the Polish minority," stressed Skubiszewski at that time. Foreign Ministry's Secretary of State Jerzy Makarczyk attending today's meeting told deputies that Poland and Lithuania plan to hold another round of talks on October 3-4.

Center Accord Chief Proposes 'Shadow Cabinet'

AU2509130191 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Sep 91 p 2

[Text] PAP—Center Accord leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski presented his idea of a "shadow cabinet" at a meeting with voters in Gorzow Wielkopolski on Sunday.

Jan Olszewski would be the prime minister. "He is a man of great prestige. I think he would earn people's confidence quickly," said Kaczynski.

In Kaczynski's view, a good candidate for finance minister would be Jan Winiecki, currently president of the European Development Bank in London. Kaczynski thinks he is the best Polish expert in financial affairs.

"Construction Minister Adam Glapinski would play a key role in the government," said Kaczynski. "One can say the same for Jerzy Eysymontt, chief of the Central Planning Office. Andrzej Diakonow and Jerzy Zdrzalka are two good economists who should also assume important posts in this sphere."

Kaczynski declared that the Center Accord will be open-minded concerning economic affairs and will not shun people from other political groups. "If we consider someone a good expert and he wants to join our government, we will accept him, even if he belongs to another party," Kaczynski promised.

Kaczynski said that his brother Lech has certain qualifications concerning state security but did not mention names of possible candidates for the interior and justice minister posts.

He entrusted the post of labor minister to Deputy Teresa Liszcz, who is responsible for this sphere inside the Presidential Office. "I admit that we have no candidate for foreign minister yet," said Kaczynski.

Warsaw Prosecutor Criticized in Party X Affair

LD2609040691 Warsaw PAP in English 2053 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 25—The Polish electoral commission chief Wednesday condemned the Warsaw prosecutor's office for violating the division of power within the state by screening the local electoral commission for the sake of Stan Tyminski's X Party. Andrzej Zoll succeeded in getting support from Poland's justice minister, and chief public prosecutor in one, over the issue, and branded the local prosecutor's actions as "dangerous violation" of the triple division of power (into legislative, executive and court authority). He said the prosecutor in charge of the affair "has so far been doing things which are outside his powers". The prosecutor's offices represent executive authority, while electoral commissions are part of the court authority. As the Warsaw prosecutor is investigating the way the Warsaw electoral commission has handled verification of X Party's dubious election lists, Zoll said there are no grounds for questioning the commission's activity. At the same time he is surprised to see no proceedings initiated to bring to light the issue of false signatures on X Party's election lists, and compared the prosecutor's actions to screening the judiciary instead of the thief. Meanwhile, Stan Tyminski led a 100-strong demonstration in downtown Warsaw Wednesday demanding a nationwide list for his Party. The demonstrators conveyed a written protest to President Lech Walesa, whom they petitioned for "justice" and "honest verification". The X Party has been refused the right to a nationwide election list Tuesday, as it failed to provide a sufficient number of genuine signatures in support of its candidates after part of the signatures were found forged.

Catholic Candidate Views Election Chances

AU2509150991 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Sep 91 p 3

[Interview with Antoni Macierewicz, Catholic Election Campaign Sejm candidate and deputy chairman of the Christian National Union, by Jerzy Wysocki; place and date not given: "On the Catholic Character of the Nation"]

[Excerpts] [Wysocki] Are you disappointed with the Polish Episcopate's statement on the elections? In it, the bishops said: "We do not support any particular side, and we will not point to any particular preelection lists."

[Macierewicz] No, not at all. It was the kind of stance that was to have been expected. We did not expect the episcopate to be guided by any kind of partisan considerations. On the other hand, the bishops did express what they expect of future deputies. The image of the Catholic deputy who represents the interests of the Catholic community is quite clearly outlined in church recommendations. The bishops also noted that there is a whole series of issues connected with the Catholic character of the nation, and that character must be reflected in the future parliament.

[Wysocki] However, there were grounds for thinking that the episcopate would give direct support to the Catholic Election Campaigns. Church authorities were involved in organizing this electoral formation.

[Macierewicz] That is a misunderstanding. The issue is a different one. Our activists, including our parliament members, have made proposals concerning all areas of public life from a Catholic standpoint. Individual bishops and priests have given their support to our activities in this direction, and that is natural and obvious. [passage omitted]

[Wysocki] Why, in a country such as Poland, which is strongly attached to Christian and national traditions, have the Christian National Union and the Catholic Election Campaign been receiving so little support from the electorate? Poll results indicate that only 1.7 percent of voters would vote for you.

[Macierewicz] Please do not forget the speculation that preceded the presidential elections. So, I propose that we return to the question in a month's time. Besides, the polls that you referred to were carried out several weeks ago, when the Catholic Election Campaign was only just being formed. I will say again, let us talk in a month's time.

[Wysocki] However, are you not obtaining such low ratings in preelection polls because you are too radical? Even the Center Accord, which arouses a lot of controversy, did not want to go into the elections with you. Jaroslaw Kaczynski called you an extremist formation.

[Macierewicz] It is all political maneuvering. We are being call extremists for backing natural public demands, such as decommunization and an end to the policy of wiping the slate clean and to doctrinaire liberal economics.... [passage omitted]

Daily on Possible Postelection Alliances

AU2609103891 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Sep 91 pp 1-2

[Report by Tomasz Roguski: "Postelection Alliances"]

[Text] Opinion polls indicate that the October elections will not give any particular party a resounding victory. It is difficult to judge what the final division of forces in the Sejm and the Senate will be, but it seems that the government will form a coalition to include part of the Solidarity camp.

According to the opinion polls, the Democratic Union will win the largest number of Sejm seats. Aleksander Hall, the Union's deputy chairman, said recently that the Union expects its leader to be given the task of forming a new government. Union chairman Tadeusz Mazowiecki has confirmed that the Democratic Union is open to any alliance with Solidarity, adding that the groups that originated in Solidarity should wage their election campaign in such a way that future cooperation will be out of the question. Asked about cooperation with the liberals, Hall said that there are no irreconcilable differences between the Democratic Union and the Liberal-Democratic Congress.

So far, the Center Accord has been very cautious in its remarks about the possibility of joining a government coalition with the Democratic Union, but Jacek Maziarski, chairman of the Center Accord Main Council, claims that the Center Accord will not join the government with the Union. That would be possible only in the case of "higher necessity," such as a threat to democracy in Poland, he said.

The Center Accord would not like to be in a coalition that also contains groups that used to collaborate with the communists, Maziarski continued. The Center Accord wants the "politics of continuation" to be replaced by "politics of breakthrough," but Maziarski doubts whether the Democratic Union is capable of carrying out this breakthrough. He says that, unlike the Democratic Union, the Center Accord wants an end to the "thick line" [crossing out the past with a thick line] policy, and that a part of the Democratic Union is hostile toward the Catholic Church, another difference that separates it from the Center Accord.

Christian and Christian-democratic organizations head the list of organizations with which the Center Accord would like to enter into a coalition after the elections. Maziarski mentions, in particular, the Christian Democrat Party and the Christian National Party. Also possible is an alliance with the Solidarity-linked part of the peasant movement. The liberals occupy third place on this list.

The Center Accord's main reservations concern the economic policy pursued by the liberals who are in power at present. Maziarski says it is essential to establish an industrial and agrarian policy and alter the rules of privatization. The Democratic Union and the Center Accord also have divergent views about Leszek Balcerowicz's economic program. Maziarski says that this program has "already passed its apogee."

Maziarski describes an alliance of forces with mutually divergent programs as an ambiguous solution that would look suspicious to the electorate. A minority government—that is, one without any permanent parliamentary majority—would be a misfortune, says Maziarski. There is no danger, he says, of a government that includes postcommunist forces, but a good election result by a party like the Polish Beer-Lover's Party would be an international disgrace for Poland and would discredit democracy in the eyes of Poles.

Lech Mazewski, adviser to the prime minister and a Liberal-Democratic Congress activist, considers the Center Accord's misgivings to be mere election rhetoric that will change after the elections, when the time comes to form the new government. He thinks the current statements by the Center Accord leadership should not be taken too seriously. He believes that the government will consist of the Democratic Union, the Liberal-Democratic Congress, the Center Accord, and Solidarity. There is no other possible proreformist coalition in Poland, he says.

The Liberal-Democratic Congress wants to impose three conditions, upon which its entry into such an alliance depends. The first is the adoption of a "small constitution" that would introduce a presidential-parliamentary system to Poland and strengthen the position of the executive. The Democratic Union agrees to this. The second condition is the Sejm's adoption of a series of laws to consolidate the economic reforms, which a government coalition in the Sejm should be able to do. The third condition is a Sejm stance on regional government and on the restoration of districts [powiat] to the local government system. The Democratic Union also agrees to this, whereas the Center Accord does not, but Jacek Maziarski thinks a compromise could be reached on this issue.

According to Mazewski, President Walesa's role in forming the new government will depend on whether or not there is a government majority in the Sejm. Such a government could counterbalance the Belvedere. If the future Sejm is more fragmented, the Belvedere is bound to intervene in the process of forming a government.

Minister Discusses Regional Security, Technology

LD2509223491 Budapest MTI in English 1622 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Warsaw, September 25 (MTI)—We strive for the best possible advantages in Polish-Czechoslovak-Hungarian cooperation so to reduce the negative impacts on our military technologies because of the dissolution of the

Warsaw Treaty, Vice Adm. Piotr Kolodziejczyk, Polish minister of national defence, told MTI before the forthcoming visit to Warsaw of Hungarian Minister of Defence Lajos Fur. Close cooperation and specialization between the three countries would help us attain this goal as economically as possible, he said. The Polish minister mentioned as an example the co-ordination of arms purchases from the Western states. The idea of setting up a new military bloc has not been raised, all the less since we are dreaming of a bloc-free Europe. He emphasized, however, that NATO is playing a stabilizing role in the European processes. The current situation rules out the chance of the Visegrad triangle being transformed into a military alliance. Although anything may happen and later on the new circumstances may prompt us to consider other solutions, now we wish to distance ourselves from the theory that sought to guarantee the security of Europe by big military potentials. Under Poland's new defence concept, the minister said, none of the neighbouring or more remote European countries are considered an enemy. Moreover, we make every effort to maintain friendly relations with them. "For what we strive is one side of the coin. Reality is the other...," Kolodziejczyk said. However, he continued, there might be many surprises. What is taking place in Yugoslavia and, to a smaller extent, in the Caucasian republics may escalate to other regions, which would be a great problem and would not lead to Europe. A process like that would pose a danger not only to the countries involved but even to the continent as a whole, the Polish defence minister said.

Army To Draft Fewer Soldiers for Budget Reasons

AU2509145591 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Sep 91 p 1

['pina' report: "Only the Best for the Army"]

[Text] Only the fittest and the most educated will join the Army in the fall draft, promises Colonel Jaroslaw Bielecki, chief of the Polish Army Recruitment Administration.

Due to cuts in the military budget, the fall intake will be 20,000 fewer soldiers than the Ministry of National Defense envisaged. Col. Bielecki says that fitness to serve will be the only criterion applied by the military recruitment boards to the draftees in the fall. The draft will consist mainly of those with very high qualifications.

Education, health, and suitability for specialized service (for example, in the Navy) will be considered. In practice, it means that, first of all, the recruitment boards will refer to the Army those with secondary educations and A1 health ratings. If the quota of those with secondary educations is unfilled, they will refer persons with primary educations and A1 health ratings, and so forth.

This year is the first time that volunteers have actually applied to join the Army, says Col. Bielecki. Fifty persons have done so in Warsaw.

Roman Addresses Parliament on Miners' Disturbance

AU2509151491 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Bucharest radio unattributed correspondent's report on address by Prime Minister Petre Roman from Bucharest Mitropoliei Hill Parliament Building—live or recorded]

[Text] The House of Deputies today continued discussing the bill on public administration. Article No. 27 was discussed; the law itself has 125 articles. This law is of an immediate nature if we consider that local elections were suggested for this fall. At noon, the proceedings were interrupted so the prime minister, Mr. Petre Roman, could present to parliamentarians the serious situation that has been created as a result of the strike staged by the Jiu Valley miners.

The head of the executive branch presented in detail the actions taken to stop this work conflict. He informed the Parliament that on 17 September a meeting was held at government headquarters with the prime minister, the relevant ministers, and with 27 trade union members and representatives of the Pit Coal Corporation. The communique issued on that occasion announced that the claims had been negotiated, and appropriate solutions were found for all claims. However, the strike started and disorder was created in Petrosani. Several thousand miners started off for Bucharest in trains that were procured under pressure. The prime minister also said that he had to cancel the visit he planned to pay to Austria at the invitation of the chancellor of that country.

The head of the executive branch declared that the government will take measures, within the limits of the law, to ease this conflict. He also said that he is always ready for dialogue.

Passing to another issue, the prime minister announced that today, a so-called Transylvanian government-in-exile was set up in Budapest. The head of the executive branch said that the government is taking all the necessary diplomatic measures to counteract this stupefying action.

Iliescu Issues Communique; Appeals for Calm

AU2509181291 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 25 Sep 91

["Text" of communique from President Ion Iliescu; place and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] A labor conflict that was solved through dialogue between the government and the Jiu Valley representatives has taken a tragic turn. As of now, three young people have been killed and 25 others have been seriously injured from among the ranks of the gendarme troops defending the government building. The consequences of the escalation of this conflict could be much more serious, however, and could even jeopardize the democratization process started in Romania, thus darkening and hurting our country's image internationally and making room for provocations and speculations that would even cast doubt on the country's integrity.

I turn to the young people who have come to Bucharest, the young people of Jiu Valley, all responsible forces, and all the country's citizens, and I make an appeal to reason, understanding, and the patriotic feelings of each one of us. We should not let ourselves be governed by passions and permit the escalation of violence. Our decisions and actions should be in accordance with the law. Let us not lose what we have won with such difficulty.

Miners' Trade Union Confederation Presents Demands

AU2509184091 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] The proceedings of the Steering Council of the Miners' Trade Union of Romania, which incorporates 84 trade unions totaling some 200,000 miners, continued in Bucharest today.

The Jiu Valley trade unions are not part of this trade union confederation.

During a meeting this evening, it was decided—by open ballot—that a general strike will take place if demands are not met by tomorrow morning. We will now present the demands read by Mr. Eugen Tamas, president of the Miners' Trade Union Confederation of Romania:

[Begin Tamas recording] Demands made by the Miners' Trade Union Confederation of Romania:

1. Settlement of the economic blockage.

2. Allocation of investment funds for 1991-92 and granting of additional funds and credits, without any interest, in order to retechnologize mining units.

3. Renunciation of the economic policy aimed at closing down mining units and guarantees by the state that all mining units will operate as long as the state is the single employer.

4. Wage indexation should be applied in the budget, and appropriate compensation in keeping with the level of the inflation rate should be ensured.

5. Granting equal rights throughout the mining area, without making any difference between zones, mining basins, mineral substances, and coal.

6. Ensuring the miners' own medical assistance system, with the possibility of having medical checkups in medical units and of having specialized clinics.

7. An increase in children's allowances, and a guarantee of social protection for young people under the age of 30.

8. A full report by the state on the utilization of income taxes and other deductions, which currently amount to approximately 60 percent of their earnings.

9. Guaranteeing the powers of the management of mining units and the dismantlement of auxiliary branches whenever this is required.

This is all. Thank you. [end recording]

Government Calls Strike 'Unjustified, Illegal'

AU2509185191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1744 GMT 25 Sep 91

["Governmental Diary Specifications From the Government Press Department Concerning Miners' Strike"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/9/1991—On September 24 a general strike was called on the Pit-Coal Public Corporation in Jiu Valley despite the fact that on September 18, in Bucharest twenty-seven trade union leaders representing the over 50,000 Jiu Valley miners had discussed with the prime minister, with other government members and executives of the public corporation and had convened to extinguish the conflict on the basis of a protocol including answers to all their claims.

As a result they announced the annulment of the intention to call a strike at the Pit-Coal Public Corporation.

Taking into considerations these facts, the beginning on September 23 of claiming actions—culminating in the call on general strike on September 24—appears as unjustified and illegal.

Negotiations on the new claims were held through the agency of Hunedoara County prefect and of the executives of the Pit-Coal Public Corporation. The new claims referred mainly to means to improve characteristic economic and social conditions of the mining activity in Jiu Valley.

The communique with concrete answers to the new claims was convened upon on September 24 at 1500 hours.

Despite all this, in the evening of the same day a several-thousand-miners group caused grave disorder in the towns of Vulcan and Petrosani, beat up people, broke shops, destroyed the railway station building.

They forced the railway station staff to give them two trains and part of the cars of the fast train No 244 to go to Bucharest.

The trains arrived at Craiova where scuffles broke out between miners and the population. In these conditions the government is determined to ensure public order, protection of population, assets and property by all legal means.

The government, the communique of the Press Department reads, underscores once more that the country's economic situation is difficult and any perturbing acts of an anarchic character represent a grave danger for the country, for social stability and consolidation of democratization process.

Miners Fight Riot Police; 2,500 Protest

AU2509185091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1808 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1991—The situation continues to be tense around the government building. Order-keeping forces use petard and tear gas. The miners, together with Bucharest demonstrators—about 2,500-3,000 people—try to regroup.

The demonstrators dig out stones from the museum's steps and throw them at the riot police.

At the same time TIP [expansion unknown] lorry drivers storm the square with burning tires hanged on their vehicles. They are not supported by demonstrators.

Emergency Hospital Admits 19 Injured

AU2509191591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1821 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/9/1991—Nineteen wounded, of which four gendarmes and fifteen civilians—miners and protesters—were brought to the emergency hospital until eight o'clock.

We were informed that a dead was registered among the civilians by the medical staff at the emergency room who wanted to remain unknown.

Railwaymen Threaten 'To Isolate' Jiu Valley

AU2509202191 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] A faxed message received from the Federation of the Freight and Passenger Railway Free Trade Unions of Romania reads as follows:

Taking note of the claims raised by the Jiu Valley League of Mining Trade Unions and of its actions to solve these claims, the Federation of the Freight and Passenger Railway Free Trade Unions of Romania notifies you and the Romanian public of the following points:

1. We recognize and support the claims of the Jiu Valley League of Mining Trade Unions, which coincide with our own interests.

2. We categorically reject the ways and means used by the Jiu Valley miners' organizations to solve the collective labor conflict.

3. In view of the destruction of railway equipment installations in various railway units and of rail traffic

stations and control facilities, and taking into consideration the fact that railway workers were manhandled and seriously injured, that railway employees from Timisoara and Craiova railway districts were taken into custody, and that it has become impossible to guarantee the safe circulation of trains and to avoid rail accidents, we ask all railway employees in the endangered area to leave their posts. We call upon the Ministry of Interior to ensure order and protection in all these units. We ask the Ministry of Transportation and the management of the respective trade union to cease all railway traffic in the affected area, due to lack of security for the railway units and personnel. We warn the miners from the Jiu Valley coal basins that we will proceed to isolate their localities and activities as far as rail traffic is concerned, if they do not immediately take the necessary measures to reinstate law and order.

4. We ask all railway employees in the country to mobilize accordingly so as to cope with the worsening situation.

5. We reject all political speculations regarding our attitude toward this labor conflict, and we reiterate our demand that extremist associations and parties of fascist and communist leanings be outlawed.

The communique is signed on behalf of the Federation's Steering Committee by Leader [Lider] Stefan (Simorascenco) and Vice Leader Dumitru Sandel.

Senators View Unrest, Transylvania Government

AU2509200091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1850 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/9/1991—In connection with the Jiu Valley miners' strike and the arrival of a large number of miners at Bucharest, as well as with the creation in Budapest of a government for Transylvania, leaders of parliamentary groups in the Senate made political statements in the plenum of the Wednesday session.

On behalf of the National Liberal Party parliamentary group, Mr. Radu Campeanu, president of that party, specified: "If the so-called exile government of Transylvania is a real fact, I shall be the first to make categoric and firm statements to condemn it, even abroad. I do not think, I cannot agree with the fact that in a democratic state a social category has the right to do justice by itself." The speaker stressed the fact that the miners' stand—to do justice by themselves—was not indicated by the National Liberal Party, but by those against whom the present event is staged.

In connection with the miners' arrival in Bucharest, the leader of the National Salvation Front Parliamentary Group, Vasile Vacaru, stated that they did not agree with this action and demanded the government to take the necessary measures for the laws to be observed. Mr. Vasile Vacaru rejected Mr. Campeanu's assertions that miners' arrival was a diversion. At the same time, the majority leader expressed his dissatisfaction over the National Liberal Party leader's urge that an exile government be not taken seriously.

In his address, Senator Radu Ceontea, president of the Romanians' National Unity Party, emphasised that Transylvania was in no danger at all despite all operetta governments. He opined that the miners' action took place against the background of real dissatisfactions doubled by the decision-makers' weakness.

The National Liberal Party senator of Hunedoara, Petru Jurcanu, stated: "I don't consider as miners the ones come to Bucharest for greater wages. The real miners are quiet people." He appreciated that these events were staged by some trade union leaders intending to stick to their offices.

Senator Attila Verestoy, representative of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, qualified the so-called exile government in Budapest as "a not serious issue."

Resolution Urging Solidarity Adopted

AU2509202791 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1938 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Romania's Senate adopted the following resolution this evening:

Gathered in an extraordinary meeting, Romania's Senate, aware of the acts of violence committed in the area of the Government Headquarters by the groups of miners who arrived in Bucharest today, assesses the situations created for both public order and for the progress of democracy in our country as particularly serious.

The Senate calls on all political and democratic forces, as well as on the public, to be in solidarity so that the order of law may be reestablished, and asks the relevant authorities to take the necessary legal actions to restore order and to fulfill their duty toward the country.

Romania's Senate reaffirms that our country's Parliament has the right to call to account—in accordance with constitutional provisions—all those who are to blame for this situation.

Deputies' Assembly Discusses Miners' Unrest

AU2509195591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1900 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/9/1991—Wednesday, 25 September numerous deputies belonging to all political groups set forth their points of view in the plenum of the Assembly of Deputies. Parliamentarians from that area presented details about the concrete situation in the Jiu Valley, about the hardships confronting the miners and their families. Psychological explanations of the miners' actions were offered and reference was made to

the possibility that there were forces interested in escalating tension. Some of the speakers said that it was the present government's task to find solutions to defuse tension using lawful and non-violent means.

At the same time some deputies accused the government that through the policy it promoted it deteriorated the country's economic situation which caused the discontent of several segments of the population, the miners in the Jiu Valley included.

At the end of the debates on that matter Dan Martian, speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, said that through dialogue and wisdom the situation created could be defused by using the legal framework set. A work group of the Assembly of Deputies should be set up to go to the Jiu Valley and see for themselves what the situation actually was. But if the miners want to discuss with the plenum on the Assembly of Deputies we will have to hear them, to analyse their claims and make decisions.

Speaking during the debates of the Assembly of Deputies, Dan Martian, that chamber speaker, said that the course of the events in Victoria Square demanded the Assembly of Deputies to take an attitude. Deputy Severin Baciu (National Salvation Front), on behalf of the commission for the protection and ensurance of public order, demanded the Assembly to make the government intervene more firmly to instaurate public order.

In connection with this issue, the floor was taken by several deputies representing various political parties who appreciated the situation in Bucharest as extremely grave and asked for a break for consultations.

Declaration Condemns Violence

AU2509205691 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] [Announcer] Here is a statement read by Dan Martian, speaker of the Deputies' Assembly, in today's session:

[Begin Martian recording] Declaration:

The Deputies' Assembly, concerned with the events that took place during the night of 24 September and on 25 September in Jiu Valley and in some places on the route to Bucharest—events that culminated in Bucharest with particularly violent aggression at the government headquarters—condemns such acts, which flagrantly violate the principles of law and order.

Regardless of the reasons that triggered such action, the latter cannot be justified in any way, given the implicit danger of it for the political and social climate in the country and for domestic stability. In this period, when Romanian society is faced with a number of inherent hardships characteristic of the process of transition to the market economy, any problem that may arise—be it of a general nature or only affecting the interests of certain social and professional groups—can only be resolved through dialogue, the harmonization of various interests, and observation of the country's laws. Therefore, the Deputies' Assembly considers it inadmissible to resort to reckless acts of violence and vandalism, which endanger the peoples' lives and assets, as well as public peace and order. Such actions are all the more blamable because they ended with the injuring of some young people serving under the country's colors.

We are convinced that these antidemocratic actions, initiated by certain groups, do not reflect the civic behavior and social attitude of the miners. Such acts are bound to worsen the domestic climate and harm Romania's image in the world, thus increasing the difficulties already facing our people.

The Deputies' Assembly took note of the statement by the prime minister, who gave assurances to the extent that the government is determined to take the necessary firm steps and who said that he assumes responsibility for solving the situation by using legal means.

The representatives of all political forces in the Deputies' Assembly call on the country's citizens to show calm, to observe the norms of the state of law, and to dissociate themselves from any actions capable of jeopardizing the democracy we have won thanks to the blood sacrifice of our young people in the December 1989 revolution. [end recording]

'Fratia' Congress Supports Vulcan Miners' Claims

AU2509200491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1803 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/9/1991—In the opening session of the third day of the Congress of "Fratia" Independent Trade Union Confederation Arthur Israelovici, treasurer of the Israeli Free Trade Union Confederation, and Francois Ballestero, delegate of the (?European) Trade Union Confederation, read messages to the participants in the Congress. The proceedings continued with debates on the rules of the confederation, the delegates advancing a large number of amendments to the draft.

Dragos Corlateanu, chairman of the Steering Committee of the Congress, made the following point to a ROMPRES correspondent: On the basis of the fundamental principles of the Democratic Trade Union Movement of Unity and Solidarity, the participants in the first Congress of "Fratia" Confederation adopted on Tuesday, September 24, a motion of solidarity with the claiming actions of the miners of the Vulcan mine. According to information supplied so far it results that the miners' action degenerated into acts running counter to norms of behavior which have nothing in common with trade union activity. From this point of view "Fratia" Free Trade Unions Confederation is consistent in its fight for a settlement of the trade union members' claims and demands but only in the spirit of the provisions in the rules and of the laws of the state.

In its afternoon session the Congress adopted an official statement to be released to the press.

Free Trade Union Disapproves of Violence

AU2509195391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1855 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/9/1991—A telex of the National Free Trade Unions Confederation of Romania sent to ROMPRES for release specifies:

The operative Bureau of the National Free Trade Unions Confederation of Romania, learning about the manifestations of the group of Jiu Valley miners that arrived in Bucharest, expresses its total disapproval at the way in which they understood to uphold their economic and social claims.

We are of the opinion that the acts of violence committed are incompatible with the norms of democracy and of the state of law and are branded by the whole civilized world.

We ask the government and decisionmakers to take appropriate steps to settle this situation as soon as possible.

Bucharest Said Calm Overnight; More Miners Arrive

AU2609072191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0640 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/9/1991—Bucharest was calm in the night of 25 to 26 September.

Victory Square, where the government headquarters stand, was controlled by National Defense Ministry and Ministry of the Interior troops. In the central zone of the city groups of miners kept order and guarded stolen property retrieved from individuals most of them young, who had looted ,vandalized shops around.

Early in the morning, a train brought another 2,000 miners at Bucharest Baneasa station, as more others descended on the city at its main North Station.

Communique: Mandate Handed to Illiescu

AU2609084891 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 0817 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] In connection with the communique of the Supreme Council for the Defense of the Country issued on 25 September 1991, the Romanian Government notes the following:

In order to facilitate the finding of political solutions to the crisis that has been created through the expansion of actions of chaos and anarchy in Bucharest and in other towns of the country as well, through the rallying of all responsible political forces to ensure governance, the prime minister handed his mandate to the president, and all necessary procedures will be initiated to set up a government of national opening. This does not mean that the current government withdraws from the mission bestowed on it. In accordance with what has been agreed upon, until the new government of national opening is set up, the current government will continue to fulfill its mandate, understanding that it should use all available means to ensure the protection of citizens, goods, and property and thus defend democracy.

The future government will be set up in accordance with current constitutional provisions, on the basis of parliamentary vote and parliamentary structure, the way it was set up after the 20 May 1990 elections. This is the communique received from the Romanian Government.

Defense Ministry Troops Control Victory Square

AU2609101591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0918 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/9/1991—Bucharest at 9:00 a.m.: Road traffic in Bucharest's University Square is blocked by miners and other civilians who overnight built barricades with the help of metal fences lining the boulevards. In other parts of the city, the traffic flow is normal. Victory Square where the government headquarters stand is controlled by National Defence Ministry and Ministry of the Interior Forces.

Large groups of miners are gathering outside the government headquarters. Order-keeping forces used tear gas trying to some three thousand miners marching from Victory Square to Unic Shop not far from University Square. [sentence as received]

At about nine o'clock the miners had retreated to Romana Square.

Passenger rail traffic is normal around the country with arrivals at and departures from Bucharest's North Station observing the schedule, the Transport Ministry announced.

Twenty-seven police and thirty-three young men doing their compulsory military service with the gendarme force were wounded in street clashes. Fifty of them were admitted to hospital. Another 80 young conscripts were slightly injured and were attended to out of hospital.

The Press Office of the gendarme force announced that at 10:00 a.m. Bucharest time 49 troops are in hospital, of which 39 conscripts, seven NCOS and four officers. Besides, another 101—84 conscripts, 12 NCOS and five officers—were attended to for minor injuries.

Illiescu Meets Trade Union Representatives

AU2609112391 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] According to ROMPRES, Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, received the delegation of the Jiu Valley

Miners' Trade Unions League at Cotroceni Palace today. The League leader, Mr. Miron Cosma did not participate in the meeting. At the request of the delegation members, the press was not admitted to the talks, ROMPRES adds.

Before that, a meeting took place between Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu, and representatives of the Council of the Federation of Mining Trade Unions in Romania, which does not include the trade unions of the Jiu Valley miners. The sides discussed issues connected with the claims of the miners' trade unions, claims that were summed up by Mr. Eugen Tamas, on behalf of the Federation, in three main categories: salaries, jobs, and working conditions of the miners.

Romania's president emphasized the need to jointly find ways and means to redress the situation, after which he made a presentation on the economic and financial hardships faced not only by the mining industry, but by the entire national economy. After the meeting, Mr. Eugen Tamas made the following statement to the press:

[Begin Tamas recording] Yesterday, ROMANIA LIBERA—and I would like everybody to know that—published things that we did not say. The daily claimed that we had dissociated ourselves from the Jiu Valley miners. You should realize that we support their claims. We are also miners, even though we do not agree with acts of violence. I do not want people to say that the Mining Federation does not agree with the trade union claims of the Jiu Valley miners. We agree with them and endorse them.

[Unidentified reporter] What about the results of today's meeting?

[Tamas] At this moment, it appears that we have nobody from the executive branch with whom to talk. Therefore, as trade unions, it seems that this situation will continue for one, two, three, or more months—I do not know, whatever it will take for them to organize themselves.

[Reporter] The president has announced that the prime minister has resigned.

[Tamas] At this time, we have nobody with whom to talk. We have a meeting with the rest of our colleagues waiting for us at the Palace Hall, after which we will make further announcements. [end recording]

Timisoara Trade Union Spokesman Interviewed

LD2609122391 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Telephone interview with (Johan Tufoi), spokesman for the Timisoara Free Trade Union, by correspondent Hajnal Mate; comments by (Tufoi) are in Romanian with superimposed Hungarian translation; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Mate] In your opinion, is this an organized movement or have the miners again risen up in a spontaneous manner, so to speak, and traveled to Bucharest? Are these the same miners who attacked the anti-Government demonstrators last year?

[(Tufoi)] In my opinion, these are not the same miners. I do not want to comment on last year's activities by the Jiu Valley miners. I will say, however, that this time the miners have a serious reason to express their position to the government. In this connection, in our statement broadcast on Bucharest Radio, we said that the Free Trade Union supports the Jiu Valley miners' request that the government resign. We expressed this sentiment last year. We condemn the use of force and express our hope that light will be shed on the bloody miners' action that took place in June last year. We believe that uncovering the truth in this matter could result in the resignation of certain leaders. That is why it is very necessary that we learn what really happened.

[Mate] In your view, will the new government that is now being formed be able to resolve the situation?

[(Tufoi)] No, the formation of a new government will not resolve the situation, nor is this the main objective of the government being formed. Its aim is to save the government itself. In my opinion, the new government will represent the authorities against the dissatisfied crowds, just like the former one did.

Roman Gives Chronology of Events, Negotiations

AU2609133091 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1005 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by reporter Dionisie Sincan in Bucharest on 26 September—live or recorded]

[Text] [Sincan] Mr. Prime Minister Petre Roman, we would like to ask you for some clarification of the position of the current government and its mandate.

[Roman] These clarifications are simple. They were contained in a communique issued a short time ago by the government. Taking into account that to curb the acts of violence that have been taking place without interruption for more than 48 hours in our country, the authorities were —for various reasons—unable to function as they should to stop the violence and protect our citizens, the state structures, and the property and rights of our citizens [sentence as heard].

We came to the conclusion that it was advisable to find a political solution to end this wave of aberrant violence threatening all the democratic accomplishments in our country. Consequently, I have placed the government's mandate at the disposal of the president so that a government of national opening—as we have called it—may be formed. This would mean the representation of the responsible political forces that are involved in the legislative life of our country. However, this does not mean at all that this government is leaving at a time of crisis. This cannot

happen, because in our country the state has to function in its unity, and so must its institutions.

Thus, while this new government is being negotiated in accordance with legislative and democratic principles, the current government will continue its mission, which is first and foremost—of course—to protect our citizens, to protect our institutions, to protect property, and to protect life. I suppose this clarification is clear and sufficient.

[Sincan] Another clarification, if you would be so kind; there is probably confusion between the government communique's version of the course of events and the version resulting from the statements made by the trade union leader.

[Roman] Certainly. The government communique is not a version; it presents the truth; but to inform the public correctly, I have to mention all the inaccurate and untrue things the statements by the miners' leader contained. I can say that I will provide some additional elements that will definitely clarify the fact that the government was ready the whole time for a dialogue with the miners' trade union, as it has always been. We cannot forget this, and the miners should not forget this either.

Therefore, while in Tebea, after we were informed about a possible general strike in the Jiu Valley, we held a meeting—at the initiative of the president and myself—with the trade union leader, with the managing director of the corporation, and with the county prefect. This took place on Sunday, 15 September, I believe—no, on 16 September—well, it is of no importance. At that meeting, we came up with the idea of a meeting with trade union representatives in Bucharest on Tuesday—this being Sunday—as they wanted.

This meeting with 27 trade union leaders headed by Cosma did take place in Bucharest. It was not a hasty meeting; it lasted three and one-half hours, and overall positive agreements were achieved. The following day, these agreements were given concrete shape in clearly worded documents of a technical nature that met these demands. This meeting was not hasty either; on the contrary, it lasted four hours. After this meeting a document was signed by all sides concerned. This document emphasized that an agreement had been reached in connection with the way to solve, to meet the demands in question. I want to repeat, this happened on Tuesday, 17 September, and then on Wednesday, 18 September. On Friday, we received an official announcement from the Jiu Valley Miners' Trade Union League that the strike had been postponed. This announcement was carried by the press and is known.

Despite all this, on Monday 23 September, we were informed that once again there were some claims. This was on Monday evening. On Tuesday morning, we were told that these claims, which at the beginning seemed to die down as a result of the written and signed agreement I have mentioned, were not only not satisfied but were actually expanding.

Consequently, in the evening of 24 September—that is, on Tuesday evening—I contacted the management of the corporation and the prefect's office—that is, Mr. Alic [name as heard], the prefect, and Mr. Costinas, the director. The agitation they described seemed very great. Then the president said that since I was due to leave the following day for an official visit to Austria—a very important visit, which was clearly understood by all those with whom I spoke—we were prepared—the president and myself—to go to the Jiu Valley on either 27 or 28 September, whenever possible. This meant in two or three days time. This offer was declined. The miners left from Petrosani railroad station under circumstances that are known—that is, under tragic circumstances.

While on their way to Bucharest, it is known that the president succeeded in contacting them by radio; he invited the miners' leader to have a talk with him. This invitation was declined.

Arriving in Bucharest's Baneasa railroad station, a representative of the president contacted the same leader and said: I am an authorized representative of the president; the president invites you for a talk. He did not come; he declined. And now to the famous moment in Victory Square: They arrived in Victory Square; they did not present any claims. After a few minutes, seeing that no claims were made—first, however, I gave instructions for water, bread, and canned food to be distributed to each of them, but unfortunately these cans were used to break windows, many of them to break the windows of the Government Building—a counselor of mine contacted the leader and said to him: Tell us, what do you want from the prime minister? Make up a delegation to meet him. He invites you. He said: No, the prime minister should come here on this sidewalk.

The counselor came back and told me all this, and I said that that was not possible, and, indeed, it was not possible, because of the way in which their journey to Bucharest proceeded. Somewhat later, I asked Prefect Alic, who was with me, to contact the trade union leader once again and repeat my request; once again he declined the offer and said: Tell the prime minister to come here on this sidewalk. Aside from the fact that my going there could not have yielded any tangible results, I have to say that one cannot have a dialogue on the sidewalk with 2,000-3,000 people; on the other hand, the way things had developed up to then, going out there would have meant on my part—not as an individual, but as a man with my responsibilities—recognition of the violation of the state of law and of our laws.

In light of all this, I believe that the simplest thing at that time would have been for all sides to avoid what happened by beginning a genuine dialogue within the Government Building, as I said. This was not done. Afterward, events succeeded one another, as you know,

leading to great violence and a tragic situation. This is the precise succession of events and the precise succession of the contacts we had with them, and this is the truth that must be known by the public.

[Sincan] Thank you very much.

[Roman] I also thank you.

'Agitation' in Victory Square; More Miners Arrive

AU2609115891 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1016 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] A new train that includes 17 cars transporting about 1,700 miners arrived in Baneasa Station about one hour ago. The miners started moving toward the government headquarters and did not accept accompaniment by the Ministry of Interior forces in charge of keeping order who arrived there for that purpose.

The miners are carrying shovel handles and other sharp-edged objects.

In University Square traffic continues to be blocked by barricades, passersby, and onlookers. The effect of tear gas can still be felt. Nevertheless, the situation is relatively calm, and no incidents are being reported.

At the entrance of the Intercontinental Hotel, broken windows are being replaced. The areas around the traffic circle and underground passage are being cleaned.

Romana Square is not blocked. It is reported that tear gas can still be felt. Separate groups of civilians are moving toward the Victory Square in a civilized manner, according to our correspondents who are reporting.

At this moment, a new group of miners have arrived in Victory Square. Some miners have climbed upon some of the tanks lined up in front of the government building. Our correspondent is reporting that there is great agitation there and antipresidential slogans are being chanted.

Miners' Leader Demands Government's Resignation

AU2609121491 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1020 GMT 26 Sep 91

[News conference by Miron Cosma, leader of the Jiu Valley miners, in Victoria Square in Bucharest on 26 September—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified reporter] Mr. Miron Cosma, a few words for the Bucharest listeners.

[Cosma] The Bucharest people can rest assured that they have no reason to be afraid of the miners. The miners never attacked them. My opinion is that there have been some abuses deliberately provoked by certain individuals who have no connection with us. However, the rumor has already been spread that the miners did this, devastated that, and so forth. There you have it—new lies about the miners.

[Reporter] What about the events in Petrosani and Craiova?

[Cosma] I believe that the responsibility for those events rests with the prime minister. If he had agreed to talk to us in the Jiu Valley, the miners would have never left for Bucharest. We have asked for such a dialogue since he became prime minister. We were entitled, in the almost three years that have elapsed since he appointed himself prime minister, to have a visit from him so he could see how we live, work, and so forth in Jiu Valley.

[Reporter] What are your intentions now?

[Cosma] Our intentions are very clear. We have set up a commission consisting of representatives of all miners and mining units, which will talk with the president. We demand the dismissal of the government and of the prime minister from his position. We also have other claims that have been forwarded to the former—well, why not say it—former prime minister.

[Unidentified trade unionist] Mr. Cosma, I belong to another trade union. What do you expect from the other trade unions, other confederations, since most of them are concentrated here in Bucharest?

[Cosma] The problems raised by us, and which failed to gain the endorsement of the government, are also the issues of the struggle of all trade union confederations. However, the truth is that until now they have managed to solve only very few of these problems. From the communiques issued today, I understand that they also support us in the request for the dismissal of the prime minister from his position. It would have been much better if we had rallied to them, since they are based here in Bucharest.

[Trade unionist] Do you expect direct help from other working collectives? I am referring to the workers of the large Bucharest enterprises.

[Cosma] I think this will no longer be necessary, because we do not intend—I say it openly, we did not intend it even yesterday—to enter into conflict with the government. They effectively provoked us; after the entrance of some of the miners in the government building, we were received with explosives, which is unacceptable. Actually, you should know that we made a flag out of a handkerchief and a [word indistinct] flag, with which a delegation started toward the government building. It was received with explosives. This was the government's answer to the dialogue we requested

Iliescu Addresses Nation on Miners' Unrest

AU2609132891 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1230 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Statement by President Ion Iliescu on miners' unrest in Bucharest made in Bucharest on 26 September—live or recorded]

[Text] In connection with events of recent days, I (?want to say the following):

The actions of the Jiu Valley miners who came to Bucharest have already had some tragic results. People were killed and injured. Shops were devastated and railway stations were attacked. Rail traffic was disturbed, and the material damage done is very great at this most difficult economic time for our country.

Under these conditions, when Prime Minister Petre Roman laid down his mandate today, I agreed. I want to emphasize, however, that I did not take this step under pressure, but rather in view of moral scruples to the effect that the government was incapable of preventing the escalation of events and avoiding violence, destruction, [words indistinct].

The consultations for setting up a new government have begun. Until a new cabinet is appointed, the members of the current government will handle current affairs.

I want to inform the entire country that following my meeting today with representatives of the Jiu Valley miners currently in Bucharest, the latter expressed regret for the escalation of events and the violence committed and promised that they will withdraw and quietly return home to their jobs.

Some people are still in Victory Square, Magheru Boulevard, and University Square. They want to take advantage of the situation to create disorder in Bucharest. Therefore, I appeal to understanding, calm, quietude, and a spirit of responsibility. To avoid vandalism, violence, and the destruction of material assets, the bodies of the Ministry of Interior and the Army—in accordance with law and the decision of the Supreme Defense Council of the Country—took the necessary steps to normalize the internal situation, ensure public order, and defend private and state property to reinstate tranquillity in the country.

Romania is again going through a very difficult moment. It is necessary to overcome the worries and troubles we are facing, the accumulated intransigence and tension, and the various personal and group interests, and take joint action—all responsible political forces—so as to surmount these hardships and ensure the continuation and consolidation of the democratization process and the implementation of economic reform.

Miners' Leader Cosma, Legislative Leaders Meet

AU2609141991 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Demonstrations in front of the Deputies' Assembly headquarters continue at this time. A delegation made up of legislative group leaders has received a delegation of Jiu Valley miners headed by Mr. Miron Cosma.

Discussions are being held at this time between the two delegations. The miners' trade union leader has informed the demonstrators that soon he will inform them about the results of the discussions.

Senate Approves Roman Resignation

AU2609142691 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1404 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Here we have a last minute piece of news: The proceedings of the Senate's Permanent Bureau concluded a short while ago. Representatives of the legislative groups in this Assembly chamber also attended the proceedings. On behalf of the Permanent Bureau and the Senate's legislative groups, the president of this legislative forum, Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu, is empowered to declare the following:

Romania's Senate takes note of and approves Mr. Petre Roman's resignation from office as prime minister and the resignation of his government, which has been announced to the country by Romania's president, Mr. Ion Iliescu. As a result of this situation, the Senate asks President Ion Iliescu to immediately start the necessary consultations with relevant political factors to form a government of national unity that should be able to reestablish public order and defend democratic institutions. The Senate also calls on all citizens of the country, particularly the citizens of the capital, to be calm, maintain order, and keep the peace.

Miners Boarding Trains, Ready To Leave Bucharest

AU2609134391 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1315 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] At 1545 hours, several hundred miners had boarded three out of the four special trains that have been prepared for departure to the Jiu Valley. The trains will leave Bucharest only after the miners' leader, Mr. Miron Cosma arrives in Baneasa Station together with the miners accompanying him.

Up to this hour, the boarding has proceeded in an orderly way, without incidents. The four trains contain 10, 13, 14, and 13 cars respectively.

Response to Jiu Valley Miners' Actions Reported

Vulcan Union Leader Comments

AU2509145491 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] The attacks on Victoria Palace by the miners who have come to Bucharest from Jiu Valley are continuing. They are throwing clubs, rocks, iron bars, and everything they can get their hands on. Almost all windows on the first floor and some on the second floor have been broken.

The forces of order have not reacted yet to these attacks, while tear gas was used from inside the Palace. We are told by our reporter who is on the scene that several military personnel were seriously manhandled, .

Esteemed listeners, in the next few minutes, we will try to contact our reporter in Victoria Palace by live radio.

Mr. Dragos Stanescu, vice president of the trade unions of the Vulcan mining enterprise, made the following statement:

[Begin Stanescu recording] I am Dragos Stanescu, vice president of the Independent Free Trade Union of the Vulcan mine. I am talking to you on behalf of the miners from the Vulcan mining enterprise. We, the genuine miners, who have stayed behind in Vulcan, Jiu Valley, protest the way chosen by the Miners Trade Union League of Jiu Valley to solve the work conflict through nonobservance of the laws and through serious violations of work order and discipline.

We hope that the public will correctly judge the attitude of those who have left for Bucharest, who have only recently begun working in the mines, and we hope that they will observe the miners' (?conduct) code. Thank you. [end recording]

Alfa, Transtar Unions Issue Statement

AU2609111591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0948 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/9/1991—The Trade Unionist Movement of Romania cannot agree with the violent repression—whatever its reasons or justification of the miners who came to Bucharest in protest to the government's refusal to admit the true causes of this conflict, a statement issued in Bucharest by Alfa and Transtar National Unions Confederations says.

The present situation has predictably been brought by the government's social and economic policies in the past twelve months, and it can only be improved through real negotiations between authorised representatives of miners, of the Parliament and of the president of Romania, the statement shows.

The signatory unions confederations asked the Parliament of Romania to shake off their tiresome passivity that enabled the current government to push Romania to crisis, the president of the country to choose now between national interest and the interests of the current government, and the cabinet to step down forthrightly.

FSN 'Firmly Condemns' Actions

AU2509170591 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1648 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Statement by Ion Aurel Stoica, executive chairman of the National Salvation Front, in the Assembly of Deputies in Bucharest on 25 September—recorded]

[Text] The Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front [FSN] firmly condemns the aggressive acts of certain groups of Jiu Valley miners and other forces involved in the violent events currently taking place in front of the government headquarters and in the streets of Bucharest. We consider such acts to be directed against democracy and against the state of law.

The attack on the government headquarters, the destruction of several shops, and the use of violence against the population and the offices of public order cannot possibly be considered ways to solve a labor conflict; the only way is that envisaged by law.

It is intolerable that, in a society in which we want to be democratic, we should again witness such attempts to impose the interests of a narrow group through violence.

We appeal to reason, for an immediate end to these attempts on our frail democracy, attempts that seriously jeopardize the present and future of each and all of us Romanians.

The FSN calls on the government to take all legal steps to defend law and order, democratic institutions, and public peace.

Vatra Appeals for Calm

AU2509164291 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] The Bucharest Branch of Vatra Romaneasca Union has sent us the follows appeal for transmission:

The Steering Committee of the Vatra Romaneasca Union [VR], Bucharest Branch, expresses its disagreement with the irresponsible actions to which the miners, who arrived in Bucharest today, resorted.

We believe that they have no reason to resort to such aggression, which causes incalculable harm to our country both at home and abroad.

We ask all competent authorities to take the necessary measures to ensure peace in Bucharest and throughout the country. We demand that urgent investigations be initiated to shed light on the real reasons for the miners' presence in Bucharest, that all those who were called

upon to prevent such incidents be called to account, and that possible instigators of such destabilizing actions be prosecuted.

Vatra Romaneasca appeals to the consciousness and patriotic feelings of all miners in our country, who have to make their contribution to immediately halt the disaster that threatens the national existence of the Romanian people. This appeal is signed by the Steering Committee of the Vatra Romaneasca Union, Bucharest Branch.

Young Liberals Condemn Actions

AU2509191091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1823 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 25/9/1991—The National Liberal Party (Young Wing) considers that trade unions have the right to back their demands by legal means.

But we are against the flagrant violation of the country's laws and of the order of law by organised groups which act in the name of the Jiu Valley miners.

Unfortunately, we should notice that these events greatly damaging Romania both morally and materially—on an internal and international plane—are the result of the precedents the power created on February 19, 1990 and, especially, on June 13-15, 1990 when forces of the same nature were called and substituted the legal institutions which should have kept public order.

It is the time for the president and the government to prove they are able to ensure the continuation of the democratic process in Romania, a communique of that political formation reads.

Social Democrats Criticize Government

AU2609111891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0917 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/9/1991—Romania's Traditional Social Democratic Party shows in a statement to ROMPRES that it cannot accept the use of force by anybody to solve social and political conflicts.

This is one more proof that the government's lack of coherence, arbitrariness and dilettantism in the management of Romania's affairs had and continues to have very serious effects of which social unrest against the background of widespread impoverishment is one.

Showing that the current situation in Romania is largely the result of a bad policy of the government of Romania, the Traditional Social Democratic Party of Romania asks for its resignation.

Iliescu Interviewed on Hungarian Relations, Prospects

AU2509141491 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Sep 91 pp 1,6,7

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Pal Eotvos and Peter Mag; place and date not given: "We Can Find a Common Language Even in the Delicate Issues"]

[Text] At the request of the editorial office of NEPSZABADSAG, Ion Iliescu received Chief Editor Pal Eotvos and our Bucharest correspondent Peter Mag to grant them an interview:

[NEPSZABADSAG] Mr. President, as far as we know, this is the first time that you have given an interview to a Hungarian newspaper. You are doing this at a time when, in an answer to an earlier Hungarian proposal, you are suggesting holding a high-level Hungarian-Romanian meeting without any preconditions. Does this also apply to undertakings after 22 December 1989?

[Iliescu] What undertakings?

[NEPSZABADSAG] A process was started then, and we feel that several elements of this process came to a halt because the Romanian side showed a pronounced reserve.

[Iliescu] I did not see any such reserve. We have always shown a readiness to be open. I have never been able to understand this assessment that I have often seen in statements in the Hungarian press. I could not understand what slowing down, stopping, or reserve they were talking about. Our whole life is hard, the whole process that we have gone through or will go through is complex and complicated—in political life and particularly in economic and social life. We have had some tense moments. Various sources of social tension have appeared. This is a completely different issue. However, as for our relations with Hungary, we start from the premise that we have lived together here, in this part of Europe, for centuries. We have a common history and we have had confrontations, tense moments, historical debates, and conflicts, too, but we can also find signs of coexistence in our history. Our fate is predetermined by the fact that we have to learn to live together and to coordinate our interests. We have nowhere else to go. We have to live here, and we have to live together in this part of Europe, and we can only do this if we show an open attitude toward each other, an attitude that is built on mutual respect and appreciation. We also have to find the common interests that bring us close to each other. We certainly have many common interests because we are neighbors. We should search for the uniting rather than the dividing elements in our history. We should not dwell on the sources of tension. We can always find such events because history provided many reasons for tension and mutual mistrust. We should find the good sides of our coexistence, because there are many of these, too. This is what we want to do.

[NEPSZABADSAG] We would like to quote a personal experience. At the end of 1989, after Christmas, we brought a few thousand copies of a Hungarian newspaper to Transylvania, namely the special edition of NEPSZABADSAG. We returned home in a very elated mood, because we saw that there were tremendous possibilities for easing tensions. We feel that there has been a step back compared to the possibilities at that time.

[Iliescu] It always happens in revolutions that the initial enthusiasm starts to die out once people are faced with reality and difficulties after the moments of general happiness. People get back down to earth and feel life's difficulties again. The December revolution, which took the form of a popular explosion, was connected to a deep crisis experienced by the whole society in which the whole economy was paralyzed. People's daily life was made harder by difficulties in food supply and ruined by heating and energy problems. All that created desperation that burst out through the valve of popular uprising. In these kinds of moments, everyone expects a revolution to bring a solution to all problems, that everyone will live better and breathe freer air. Indeed, people have started to breathe more freely. All obstacles to freedom of expression disappeared. Political formations and parties burst into political life. The number of Romanian journalistic publications, both dailies and weeklies, multiplied more than 10-fold. Dozens of newspapers are published in counties where there was only one newspaper before. The most varied opinions are published without any limitations.

However, problems having to do with the economy do not get solved so easily and quickly. In fact, we have seen a drop in production since 1989. We have great difficulties in making full use of our production capacities, because we have inherited an irrational economic and industrial structure. Ceausescu's megalomania led to building giant factories with large capacities, which requires a lot of raw materials and energy resources. However, we have to import these things. Our main source of imports, the Soviet Union, has been ruined, and our other source, namely oil from the Arab world—Iraq and Kuwait—has also been reduced. As a result, the industries that the manufacturing industry, metallurgy, and oil-processing chemistry depend on have become paralyzed. This also affects our financial resources. There are grave consequences for the whole economy, because production is down, incomes are down, production costs are growing, and productivity is decreasing. People still want big earnings. However, where can the money come from when our main source of income has been destroyed? The price spiral has appeared, and the state has no resources to support loss-making production and to keep prices below production costs. We are simply unable to do this because we have no funds. That is how inflation started. Given the lack of possibilities to maintain production, the labor force is released and the specter of unemployment gives perhaps the greatest psychological shock to people. For the time being though, unemployment is relatively small because only 170,000 people are registered as unemployed and they receive benefits. However, the possibilities of increasing wages are limited by the fact that companies maintain a labor force larger than their real needs. Therefore, people are dissatisfied because they do not earn enough compared to the increased prices but, at the same time, they would not like dismissals. Of course, all this results in dissatisfaction. The gap between prices and incomes, prices and wages, and especially prices and pensions has widened.

Unfortunately, the current promising agricultural year also shows difficulties: The big summer rains hindered the wheat and corn harvest, and production has suffered both in quality and quantity. We are now waiting to see the yield in the autumn harvest. The summer rains were beneficial for the autumn crops, but the root crops have been greatly delayed. At least the agricultural sector could have helped us to overcome the difficulties in food supply! Besides, the food supply is better now than in the past, but it is more difficult to purchase these goods because of high prices. All this has nothing to do with the interethnic and national minority relations, because these are common difficulties for our entire population.

Condemnable Extremisms

[NEPSZABADSAG] You emphasize the economic difficulties. Our question had elements that have no direct connection with the economic situation. For example, making use of the freedom of the press, extremist phenomena are also emerging. We feel that the government in Romania does not distance itself from these manifestations strongly enough. Another example: We would like to see the population here also have access to NEPSZABADSAG. All such efforts on our part have met with strong opposition.

[Iliescu] In other words, your newspaper does not get into Romania?

[NEPSZABADSAG] No, and it is hindered by all kinds of obstacles.

[Iliescu] I did not know that. I was convinced that the Hungarian press was available in Romania and that this issue was solved. I am not aware of this issue.

[NEPSZABADSAG] We made a lot of efforts in this direction, but we came across millions of obstacles.

[Iliescu] Yes. However, speaking about your previous question, this was one of the main subjects at my recent news conference: I took a firm stand against extremist manifestations that emerge in the wake of this unlimited expression of opinions. I not only distanced myself from these manifestations, but I also condemned every kind of extremist manifestations, including anti- Semitism, chauvinism, and all forms of exclusivity. In my view, these are manifestations of political primitivism and mistakes in our political development. Naturally, these are connected with the level of political culture and

education, and also with the given quality of relations among people. I think we must reject these forms.

[NEPSZABADSAG] In your view, how deep is mass support for these extremist manifestations?

[Iliescu] First of all, I think that all these manifestations derive from certain social tensions, namely that extremist manifestations emerge precisely at a time of economic, social, and political crisis. These manifestations become diversions at times of tension. Naturally, there are attempts to make use of these difficulties, dissatisfactions, and social tensions, and these extremist manifestations also become the source of accumulated and embittered conflicts and tensions. They are harmful because they do not contribute to solving problems; on the contrary, they increase these problems. Therefore, I called upon all the social and political forces in Romania, as well as the press, to show political maturity and understand the seriousness of these manifestations and the need to drive them to the periphery, limit them, or even exclude them if possible.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is your opinion about the events that have taken place in Central and Eastern Europe and the efforts of the peoples in this area aimed at seeking an identity, reaching coexistence, or refraining from reaching coexistence? What is all this: A road that has to be followed, or a detour toward Europe?

[Iliescu] We are talking about a common process because both our fate and history have also been common for a few decades. These liberations and this search for new roads of economic and social life must bring us closer to each other. We have a lot in common regarding our difficulties, too, difficulties that we will overcome, as well as in seeking the ways out of these difficulties. Giving information and cooperation to each other could help us find these ways out more easily, by cooperating in overcoming the common difficulties. At the same time, particularly the regeneration process of our countries' political life has unfortunately brought to the surface an interest in national identity, whether we speak about the conditions of various countries or about the Soviet domestic situation, the separation of some member republics, and their ideas of sovereignty and independence.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Unfortunately?

[Iliescu] Unfortunately, this process of increasing national identity and ideas of sovereignty and independence on the part of member republics, and the efforts of certain national minorities to better assert their own identity—something positive and necessary in the current transition—have increased certain suspicions and mutual distrust. All this affects the relations between our countries and states. This is what I meant when I said unfortunately. I think this is not a good thing, because the assertion of national identity is a necessary and positive process for nations and national minorities alike, and correct relations can be built precisely through the strengthening of national identity, relations based on mutual respect and esteem. Only in this way is it possible to work out a platform expressing the common interests of nations, national minorities, and neighboring countries. Taking the entire process as a whole, this is the way leading to the modernization of our societies in Europe, and this is the road leading to the promotion of values generally valid in today's world: democracy, citizens' and human rights, and cooperation between states.

Hungarians and Fears

[NEPSZABADSAG] We are happy to hear that you emphasize the importance of the search for a national identity. In connection with this very thing, we can see a certain amount of distancing or even fear, and sometimes actual great terror, in bilateral relations. What are the sources of fear among Romania's general public?

[Iliescu] It is not impossible to explain these fears if we take into consideration our common history's alluvial deposits and sediments. An empire that had suppressed its peoples for centuries broke up and disappeared in World War I, and the self-determination of several nations resulted in the forming of states. If I am correct, this is also the first time the united Hungarian nation-state appeared, through the fall of the Austro-Hungarian empire. At the same time, the Romanian population in Transylvania was also given a chance. The Romanian population was in the majority in this area, and for centuries they had been deprived of all political rights. This is the reason why, on the one hand, Romanians still have a lot of sensitivity toward any manifestation of revisionism, that is, toward the return of a history that they have already lived through. This sensitivity was only increased by the Vienna Diktat. At the same time—as I already explained on another occasion—we can also understand the sensitivity of Hungarians. Although they were in a minority, the Hungarian population enjoyed privileges under the old empire, and it was the ruling nation, but it became a national minority after World War I. A certain complex derives from this. Of course, this is the source of mutual sensitivity, and this sensitivity surfaces in various forms at all tense moments of a society's life. This also affects bilateral relations. Every time certain officials, scientific gatherings, or the Hungarian press make a point or an emphasis that is reminiscent of certain revisionist behavior or demands (quoting Trianon, discussing areas and borders), the Romanian population or certain political forces naturally become worried.

As for the situation of national minorities, especially the Hungarian minorities in Romania, I believe that new possibilities emerged for the self-assertion of this category of Romanian citizens after December 1989, which equalled the opportunities for other Romanian citizens. We are probably the only country in Europe where members of representative alliances of all the national minorities are in the Parliament. They actively and directly participate in the whole country's political life and in the highest legislative body, and they are even contributing to the drafting of our new constitution.

Various points become emphasized in connection with this, including our exchange of letters with Mr. Antall. First, we believe that all states have the right to be interested in their fellow nationals wherever they live, but this, as we said, cannot turn into interference in internal matters, patronage, or into the need for patronage over the citizens of other countries. This cannot lead anywhere but to the fueling of the suspicions you mentioned. However, I believe that we can find a common language, even on these delicate questions, as we can see has been done in Europe.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The question is how can this fear can be removed? The Hungarian Republic genuinely distanced itself from any kind of revisionism. The Hungarian people in Romania hold the other element of the fear. It is not possible to put their fears behind us yet. Therefore, the key to the situation is still here, that is, in the way the local Hungarians are treated here.

[Iliescu] Of course. This is the question of the Romanian state. As I said, for the moment, we have done everything we can on a political level—I mean the ensuring of an undisturbed legal framework that is needed for the success of all minorities and for their active presence in our country's social and political life.

The Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] was one of the very active factors in the whole process of creating and discussing the constitution and discussing its theses, just as it is now, in the last phase of actually wording the text of the constitution. Also, there are no limitations in the use of the native language, publications in the native language, or in various cultural activities. The important questions depend on the main socio-economic questions that apply to all citizens of our country. The moment we can ensure a normal and peaceful life, when we place the economy on a normal footing, and when we ensure adequate financial circumstances and civilized living conditions, thereby reducing social tensions, then, I believe that a natural solution for all relations between the people—including relations between national minorities and various ethnic groups—will be found. After all, people lived together for centuries and learned to understand and mutually respect each other.

I have many Hungarian friends from my youth, childhood, school years, and later activities. I never experienced any problems in our understanding of each other. In areas of mixed population, the practice of coexistence proved the possibilities of coexistence very well. For approximately four years, I worked in Temesvar [Timisoara], where Romanians, Germans, Hungarians, and Serbs live together, and a good atmosphere of understanding always prevailed even in many parts of Transylvania. In fact, it was even true for Mures county, for Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures], which was the scene of bloody confrontations in 1990. As for me, I had friendly relations with Andras Suto, Karoly Kiraly, and Geza Domokos, whom I knew from my youth. People also tell stories about Hungarians and Romanians living in the same house or being next-door neighbors. Children play together and grow up together. Therefore, in the human perspective, there are no obstacles to people finding not only the peaceful but also the truly friendly language of understanding and coexistence.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is Romania's policy on relations with its neighbors?

[Iliescu] We not only declared that we give priority, but also try to give priority in practice, to our relations with our neighbors. I think it is natural and an elementary political logic that in striving to expand our foreign relations, we primarily focus on relations with our neighbors. I think it is in our common interest to lay the foundations of mutual understanding and full cooperation, because both our common history and our current common interests bind us together. Neighborhood is always an essential element of very good relations. It is also favorable to have elements that compensate each other's national economy. In the economic sphere, direct exchanges of goods are the most favorable ones. Small distances always facilitate communication in human contacts. This mutual interest has always been present, in spite of the fact that rather tense situations emerged at certain moments in the course of our history. This is particularly valid for our relations with Hungary. It depends on us to reduce and eliminate the suspicions deriving from the past, by laying the foundations of an agreement on solving current and future problems.

What Good Is History

[NEPSZABADSAG] History keeps coming back. Although people carry history with them, they are living everyday lives, and historic references are quite frequent in everyday politics too: Things happened this way or that way once. There is also a defensive attitude in all this: If things were one way once, they should not be better today either. Reference to the past has also been a returning element in your statements, too....

[Iliescu] This is probably natural. We can also see this in the Hungarian leaders' latest positions, and some of them referred to Trianon. In other words, history probably has a temptation that makes it impossible for us to get rid of this. However, it is also desirable to get inspiration from history in order to avoid negative events and make use of everything positive in our common traditions. I think this should be our essential interest when referring to history. However, it is bad when reference to history is used for bringing elements of tension to the surface.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What is Romania's position in connection with the integration processes in Europe?

[Iliescu] This is an objective process currently developing before our eyes, and our generation is participating in this process. Because of Europe's artificial division, these processes have developed differently so far. I think that a major positive step took place in the wake of the Paris Conference and the signing of the European

Charter in Paris, which laid the foundations of overcoming the bloc logic and a mentality that promoted a policy of division in Europe in the military blocs, too, economically and culturally alike. Therefore, a new period has begun in European history, a period of developing coexistence and cooperation, a period of equal security for all countries in Europe. This is only the beginning. The process itself will be much longer because the creation of a European Economic Community demands efforts from everyone, and from the European community as a whole, to eliminate the existing differences among European countries and to overcome the difficulties facing the Eastern European countries. All this is essential for the emergence of proper conditions for the elimination of economic division in Europe. For example, one could see the difficulties encountered by Hungary, Poland, and the CSFR during their negotiations with the EC. When economic interests are on the agenda, concrete problems begin to emerge with the European agricultural market and with other issues. Thus, this will be a lengthy process. Therefore, cooperation between our states and overall cooperation in Europe as a whole and in various areas, as well as the elimination of all kinds of discrimination and suspicion, are part of the creation of the aforementioned conditions. This is why we made proposals to overcome such separatist trends and to give a more transparent and open character to regional and interstate cooperation forms like the Trienale and Pentagonale. The way in which we deal with such issues is also very important—namely, the need to create an atmosphere of mutual confidence rather than suspicion. We are also active in the Balkans and the Black Sea area. We worked out a proposal regarding the development of interstate relations among countries in the Danube basin, something that can be connected with the countries in the Rhine basin, and thus develop a Danube-Rhine-Maine European communication line. This could provide a good idea for drawing the two poles in Europe closer together. In other words, we are for an open approach to the various forms of developing bilateral, regional, multilateral, and general cooperation in Europe.

Romania Is Not a Federation

[NEPSZABADSAG] These are constantly spreading forms of cooperation. That is partly why we found Romania's nervous reaction to a Polish study on regional cooperation incomprehensible.

[Iliescu] You need not be surprised by that. This kind of idea—which ignores the currently existing state formations—is very harmful. In 1964, a similar idea on a certain regional formation appeared that ignored national boundaries. This idea came from CEMA's logic. The thought behind the study you have referred to runs approximately along the same lines. It ignores state structures and imagines economic formations that ignore the existing borders and the existing states. Transylvania cannot be torn out of the Romanian state's national ethnicity. This resembles something completely different that can only create indignation and counteraction.

[NEPSZABADSAG] That was the idea of a Polish institution. However, the Romanian reaction also appeared to have a slight anti-Hungarian overtone. We could sense a suggestion that the voice belonged to Esau (the Poles) but the hand belonged to Jacob (the Hungarians)....

[Iliescu] But why do you consider the reaction to be anti-Hungarian when you do not consider the action itself anti-Romanian?—the action that provoked the reaction and the answer. Indeed, if we judge this issue with this kind of logic, then of course....

[NEPSZABADSAG] It can hurt Romania....

[Iliescu] It not only can hurt Romania, it definitely does so.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The reaction is out of proportion. This whole Polish study is not even known in Hungary and it has not appeared anywhere....

[Iliescu] The publication of this study coincided with a series of other statements and theses, and it was in harmony with them. These notions are the following: the idea of Transylvania's autonomy; the removal of this area from the Romanian national economy as a whole; the idea that the Romanian state is a multinational state; and the ideas regarding the Romanian state's federative or confederative structure. These are all false starting points. The Romanian state's national structure is not the same as the Yugoslav structure. Yugoslavia is a multinational state, and there is no such thing as a Yugoslav nationality or a Yugoslav nation. The Yugoslav state consists of many nationalities. None of these nationalities represent a majority in the Yugoslav population. Therefore, it is logical to organize the federation on a national basis. The Romanian state is based on the Romanian nation, which accounts for the vast majority of the population and, in addition, a number of national minorities also live together scattered across our country's territory. The principle of dividing the country on an ethnic or national basis or organizing the country on a federal basis cannot be raised. Therefore, the study in question brought up issues for debate that had already been refused because they were not based on theories, principles, or history. The study cannot be understood without having damaging repercussions for the integrity of the Romanian state.

[NEPSZABDSAG] We have talked about rapprochement and building trust, but there are some concrete issues that could also have a symbolic meaning. One example is the existence and restoration of the Hungarian university in Kolozsvar [Cluj], which might involve financial sacrifices, but the financial aspects are marginal considering the weight of the issue. The issue of the consulate in Kolozsvar could be another example, or the problems of television, the press, and so on.

Questions of Confidentiality

[Iliescu] These are two different issues. One is a matter for domestic affairs that does not belong to interstate relations. The other is a bilateral issue that is connected to our bilateral relations. As regards the university, I believe that the way this issue is raised is not quite correct. It gives the impression that there is no university education in the Hungarian language in Romania. This is not true. There are faculties and courses both in Kolozsvar and in other university centers where lectures are given solely in Hungarian. This means that a framework has been established for all those people who wish to study in their native language, in Hungarian. Therefore, the possibility has been given. The question that emerges here is whether we should administratively divide the university in Kolozsvar into two separate institutions, namely a Romanian-language one and a Hungarian-language one. It is being debated whether this is a good idea. We also have financial problems and subsidy problems with the existing institutions, and these problems only grow with the increase in the number of institutions. There are also questions of principle, namely whether it will serve mutual rapprochement and understanding or whether it will be another factor in separatism, distancing, and alienation. Therefore, this is an issue that depends on whether it is deemed to be timely—because it does not affect the right to use the Hungarian language or to an education in the Hungarian language. This right is guaranteed, something that cannot be found in many European countries. This was one of the questions.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Nevertheless, we could quote some good examples of national minority universities in European countries....

[Iliescu] Our delegates travelled to Strasbourg, a city with a large German population, and they asked if there was a German-language university. There is not. In fact, the city's mayor indignantly asked what need there was for one? This means that there are different kinds of situations. And to make it clear, please understand that there is no lack of education in the Hungarian language. I would ask you to conduct another survey when judging Romania's domestic realities and the status of the Hungarian minority: Compare it to the status of the Romanian minority in Hungary.

Compare all the aspects of the rights enjoyed by the two national minorities. Compare the process of assimilation too. Study all the statistics covering the period between World War I and today. Numerically, the Hungarian community in Romania grew constantly over that period, so there was no assimilation. The Romanian national minority in Hungary constantly decreased over that period, passing from a figure of 200,000 after World War I to 120,000 after World War II—I am quoting official Hungarian statistics from 1946—and today, the approximate number of Romanians in Hungary only amounts to 20,000. Take a look at all the other rights—the right to education, the freedom of expression in the areas of politics and culture, and so on. If we are going to be factual in our judgment of the national minority policies of our countries, then instead of lecturing each other, it would be better for both of us to try and see how we could improve our activities at home. We can gain inspiration from what the other side does better. However, I think that from this point of view, there is not a lot we can reproach each other for.

[NEPSZABADSAG] The only thing is that we start off from negatives. Indeed, there might be countries that do not have a university for their national minority, but there are also countries that do. We are not the ones to refer to this or that example....

[Iliescu] .... So we do have a university. Consequently, we belong to the category of countries that do secure Hungarian-language education at a university level.

[NEPSZABADSAG] It would only take a small detail to create an independent Hungarian university in Transylvania, so why is it so difficult?

[Iliescu] That is our internal affair! Why are you so preoccupied by this issue? This....

[NEPSZABADSAG] Because relations between Hungarians and Romanians in Transylvania are like relations between a foot soldier and a cavalryman.

[Iliescu] Why don't you show us the Romanian university in Hungary as an example for the solution of this problem?

[NEPSZABADSAG] Naturally, the proportion of Romanians living in Hungary does not necessitate the opening of such a university....

[Iliescu] I agree! But we are getting into a technical discussion, talking about questions that are still unresolved in both our countries, if we look at our own conditions. My impression is that you make a mistake when you turn this issue into a moot point in our interstate relations, as you do with other similar issues. Leave the Hungarians in Romania alone, they can defend their own causes! They do not need any external patronage or protection. We take better care of them than others.

[NEPSZABADSAG] People react very vehemently to these issues everywhere. We simply raised a question: Could there not be a Hungarian university in Romania?

[Iliescu] My answer was that there is one!

[NEPSZABADSAG] An independent Hungarian university? We were not referring to Finland, Switzerland, or some other country....

[Iliescu] You see, earlier on I spoke about whether or not it was a good idea to refer to history when discussing these issues. Up until World War I, Romanians constituted the majority in Transylvania. There was a university in Kolozsvar, and it only had a Hungarian-language curriculum. There was no Romanian-language university.

[Iliescu] And that is why there is no Hungarian-language university in Romania today?

[NEPSZABADSAG] No, but I was talking about history. We do have Hungarian-language university education in Romania. The only debatable point is whether it would be timely to administratively make a division between two institutions? Would this serve the interest of university education? At the moment, both Romanian and Hungarian students have the opportunity to use all the university facilities and laboratories, and they are served in the same way by the university staff. If we divide them, we will divide both our financial resources and our human academic potential. Does this contribute to the consolidation of an institution? This needs to be discussed and analyzed. I do not want to side with either of the two solutions. What I am saying is that these are moot points and that you should let us think about them so that we can find the best solution that will serve all the citizens of our country equally.

You mentioned the television and the press—but as far as the press is concerned, I do not think that there are any objections to be made in relation to the existing possibilities. Naturally, everyone is experiencing difficulties. The number of publications has multiplied to such an extent that we are running out of paper (this is just an example). The increase in the price of paper is also beginning to pose a problem, even for the publishers of newspapers and books.

As for television, it is struggling with real financial problems; it is experiencing difficulties with its financial resources and broadcasting times. We are faced with a problem because we want to extend the second channel, and we will probably launch a third channel as well because Romania has been granted three frequencies, so we have to fulfill three possibilities.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Will viewers in Transylvania be able to watch the third channel?

[Iliescu] The third channel does not exist yet. We are talking about a frequency that has been reserved for us, but the launching of the third channel depends on investments. At the moment, we are working on two channels: The first one can be seen across the country, and the growing second channel covers almost 50 percent of the country's territory—I do not know its exact dispersion offhand.... Anyway, we are talking about the management of the possibilities offered by these two channels.

We have not interfered in these matters, and we will continue not to do so. However, television has to pander to many requests, and whenever demand largely exceeds supply (that is, possibilities), people are dissatisfied. Both the political parties and the trade unions would like to have their own programs. At the same time, the public is rather fed up with political programs. People would like to see an increase in the number of educational programs, more general scientific information, movies, children's programs, and so on. It is very difficult to accommodate all these requests. We are not talking about a political issue anymore, nor are we talking about the enforcement of political criteria; we are simply talking about the aforementioned difficulties.

Message to Hungary

[Iliescu] As far as our bilateral relations are concerned, we have consular activities that are more limited than usual because they simply guarantee visa exemption and free movement. So we can discuss whether there is a need for a new consulate. However, gentlemen, these are technical matters for our two Foreign Ministries. There are other similar issues. For example, we have the House of Culture: We have a decision to open this house, and we have a building for it in Bucharest. On the basis of reciprocity, we need to find an appropriate place for a Romanian House of Culture. You have not yet found a solution, and we will not make a fuss about it. Incidentally, there is a whole series of bilateral issues, and we have suggested that the two ministries hold constant negotiations and gradually examine the solutions offered to our problems, step by step.

In my letter to Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, I suggested that we should not make our approach toward fundamental issues in our bilateral relations depend on questions of detail or specific issues. We have achieved several good things in common—the links between our two Defense Ministries gave birth to the "Open Skies" agreement. This was a good sign, and it was seen across Europe as a joint effort to dispel elements of mistrust and tension. Our ministries of culture also have good relations. There is a series of agreements in the economic sphere, and we can think of new ones. As I said before, it would be a good political signal if there were openness on the leadership level between our two states. Personally, I have shown myself open to direct contact, and I particularly favor a finalization of the draft bilateral cooperation agreement between our two countries. In spring, we sent a draft to Hungary, and we are waiting for remarks, comments, and proposals, so that we may finalize and sign the document. This would be a significant political signal that would dispel a lot of mistrust and elements of uncertainty; it would also prove the political will of the leaders of our two countries to place our interstate relations on a new basis of mutual trust. That is the essence of my message, and I hope that it will receive positive feedback.

Furthermore, during my personal meetings with President Arpad Goncz in Tokyo, and with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall in Paris, London, and Prague, I think we found a road toward understanding. I hope we will find a formula for a joint agreement, and I hope that our political leaders will give positive signals to our relations.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Thank you for this interview, Mr. President. We leave with the conviction that there are still many possibilities for the dispelling of fears.

[Iliescu] I am convinced of that. That's life: It obliges us to fulfill our duty, namely to be realistic and to act in the spirit of the requirements of the common life of our peoples. I thank you, and I wish you all the best.

Campeanu on Need To Change Current Regime

AU2509121591 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 21-22 Sep 91 p 3

[Fifth part of interview with National Liberal Party President Radu Campeanu by Nicolae Tone; place and date not given: "Radu Campeanu: I Cannot Note Any Genuine Political Figures in Romania Today"]

[Excerpts] [Tone] How would you characterize your time in exile? What did you do all these years?

[Campeanu] I did two things. I worked a lot and, together with my family, I had the opportunity to live well. [passage omitted]

The second thing of primary importance for me was my political activity. I was one of those people who believed that as a political refugee I have no right to ever forget those I left back home. Those of us who were interested in Romanian affairs undertook all sorts of things; we organized either public events or prepared various memorandums, letters, or called on international political and economic figures and institutions. Finally, we wrote newspapers to publicize what is happening in Romania and to fully uncover Ceausescu's lie. [passage omitted]

I was the head of the Romanian-French publication BULLETIN OF INFORMATION OF EXILE ROMANIANS, that I issued together with my wife and that was available in all countries in the world where Romanians were living. Together with other people, I created the Liberal Club...

[Tone] Where?

[Campeanu] In Paris in 1985. [passage omitted]

[Tone] From the point of view of the National Liberal Party [PNL], what is imperative at this time?

[Campeanu] Do not hold it against me, but once again I want to say that the first thing that has to be done in Romania, in my view, is to change the regime. This is the first thing to be done, because everything else will depend on this.

[Tone] What do you mean by changing the regime?

[Campeanu] The resignation of the current government, and its replacement with other formations and other people.

[Tone] In your opinion, what are the essential ideas of the policy promoted by the PNL today?

[Campeanu] Our main idea at home is to unfetter all forms of creative energy in each individual and to achieve, in this way, freedom for all. In our view, it is absolutely necessary for people to become rich. On one condition: This should happen through legal means and not the way it happens today—through corruption, foul action, and swindle. This is something of primary importance. We believe that, if they really existed at this time, freedom and initiative would have begun to prove their beneficial effects, both as regards prices, commodities in stores, and unemployment.

On the other hand, such a beneficial opening would have made people feel more secure in their life. Current fears—because I don't know who is listening to me over the telephone or who is opening my letters—that once again there could be listening devises... would no longer exist. Such things would no longer exist!

[Tone] How did the split between the National Liberal Party and what is called today the PNL-Young Wing occur?

[Campeanu] Why do you say "split?"

[Tone] Severance...

[Campeanu] This is a question I am not interested in. It is outdated and something that has not left any mark on the party. I believe that that separation was a very natural purging action that took place in a natural way. It is a good thing that it happened then and not later.

[Tone] We have numerous politicians today. I would like to know your opinion about some of them: For instance, about Mr. Petre Roman.

[Campeanu] I do not like to rate people or polemicize on them.

[Tone] Then, let us say, what is your opinion about the institution of prime minister?

[Campeanu] I belong to the opposition; I criticize. I cannot note any genuine political figures in Romania today. They will shape up with the passing of time. For the time being, I cannot see a single one. As far as the prime minister and the government is concerned, some people maintain that they are unique; I do not say that they are unique. I believe that Romanian society has many other people at least as capable as those making up today's government team. Technocrats are not policymakers. This is very well known by those who have read some history and by those who are really knowledgeable in matters of politics both in Romania and in the free countries. The technocrats who are ministers today—of course, some of them with very good intentions—are unfit to assume political responsibility and to make decisions matching our current situation. I believe that all these technocrats at the helm with the prime minister are suited for such positions as counselor in some ministry, but not as ministers and department chiefs.

[Tone] What kind of relations exist between the National Liberal Party and Cotroceni [seat of the Presidency]?

[Campeanu] Whenever we are invited to Cotroceni, together with the whole opposition, we participate in the ensuing discussions. There are no and have not been any other relations between us.

[Tone] What can you tell us about Mr. Ion Iliescu?

[Campeanu] I have to repeat: I cannot make such assessments nor indulge in light polemics. I can only say that, in this respect, I am also an opponent. Undoubtedly, I belong to the opposition, but it is my impression that Mr. Iliescu smiles a great deal, sometimes without any reason, but that is his business. When we meet, we shake hands in a civilized way, that's all. I believe that deep down, in his inner self, he is still strongly linked to communism. I ask myself, how could it be otherwise? Whether his intentions are good or bad will be seen later.

[Tone] As vice president of the Senate, how do you cooperate with its president, Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu?

[Campeanu] I have to admit that Barladeanu is a frank man. He is a man with whom one can talk. He does not get inhibited as happens with so many others in our country today. He always proves a minimum amount of fairness, in the sense that you can tell him what you believe and be sure that he will not reject everything right away. Often he takes into account what you say and what was discussed; this is something that is very important and that I have, actually, not come across in many others.

[Tone] In your view, what will tomorrow's National Liberal Party look like?

[Campeanu] I strongly believe in the future of our party. It is and will remain a guarantee of the Romanian political future. Thus, with great conviction I can say that tomorrow the National Liberal Party will be the way realities require. But it will always be itself, faithful to its generous principles.

[Tone] What about Romania of tomorrow? How do you visualize it in five years, in a decade, and 20 years from now?

[Campeanu] In policy-making one does not see ideal countries, one sees Romania as it is. Actually, I visualize people who, when you meet them in the street, smile, are happy, and have bright and confident expressions on their faces. I visualize people who are not afraid of anything and who do not have to worry about tomorrow. The Romanian economy is able to achieve this. Romania will belong to open people, who know that they are Europeans, and who will enjoy a European standard of living. Thus, I believe that the ideal Romania we will surely achieve one day will be a free Romania, free outside its borders and at home. Its people will be genuinely free, and when I say "free," I actually mean "happy," generous, relaxed, and very open.

This is what I want to happen. I want to see all Romanians feel the pleasure of life, and I do not want them to live just for the sake of living. I want to see them have pleasure and believe in freedom and their destiny. I believe that this can be achieved. I am convinced that the Romanian mind, the intelligence of the Romanians—because there is this particular intelligence in Romanians—their creativity and even work energy—adjusted to and applied on our soil with all its riches above and inside it, will be able to achieve all this. In five years, in 10 years, I do not know exactly when, but I am convinced that this dawn has to appear one day.

Federal

Kostic To Call Presidency Session

AU2509193491 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Interview with Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of SFRY Presidency, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] At last night's working session of five members of the SFRY Presidency, it was demanded that an urgent session of the SFRY Presidency be held. Is there any chance of it being held?

[Kostic] It is now already quite certain that we will hold this Presidency session because we have tried several times—individually and jointly—to ask President Mesic to call a session. He has refused to do this, always giving the excuse that he does not have the opportunity to come to Belgrade. At last night's meeting, we concluded that if President Mesic does not call a session of the Presidency as soon as possible, there exists the possibility on the basis of constitutional provisions that a session can be called and chaired by the vice president of the Presidency because the Constitution literally says that if the president of the Presidency is prevented for quite a long time from carrying out his duties and from calling a session, then in this case this obligation is assumed by the vice president of the Presidency.

I have already had talks with Mr. Alija Izetbegovic because we think that we will be discussing the political security situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina at this first session of the Presidency. If Mr. Mesic does not call this session today or tomorrow, I will call it and it will most probably be held on 30 September or 1 October.

Mesic Against Kostic Calling Presidency Session

LD2509193891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Yugoslav Presidency President Stipe Mesic, commenting on the rump [krnsa sjednica] meeting of the Presidency in Belgrade on 24 September, told HINA that Branko Kostic has no right to convene a Presidency session while he is alive, well, and in the country. He can do that only with my authorization, which I have given to no one, President Mesic stressed. Asked about the reasons for the only partial observance of the cease-fire in Croatia, Mesic said that Milosevic cannot halt the war because it is only the war which is sustaining him, adding that Milosevic does not believe a great deal in the truce.

Mesic Wants Demilitarized Zone Established

OW2609010291 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 2200 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Interview with Stjepan Mesic, president of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by correspondent Hitoshi Suzuki in Zagreb; date not given—recorded; Suzuki asks questions in English, and Mesic answers in what is believed to be Serbo-Croatian with Japanese translation in subtitles; the following from English and Japanese]

[Text] [Suzuki] What kind of interference, international interference [subtitle says "international assistance"], do you expect?

[Mesic] We hope that international pressure will be applied to make Serbia stop using force. If that is impossible, a demilitarized zone should be set up at the border.

[Suzuki] Supposing the situation continues like this, I wonder what will happen on 7 October.

[Mesic] All of the republics have agreed to hold talks until 7 October. If that does not help, Slovenia and Croatia will secede from the federation. If they secede, Yugoslavia will collapse. But there is a possibility that independent republics might create a new federation. Croatia and Slovenia are proposing to adopt a form that is like the European Community—in other words, a form in which republics have independent authority other than in the economic and defense areas.

[Suzuki] I wonder which position is more important for you—that is, president of the Federal Presidency of Yugoslavia or Croatian patriot?

[Mesic] I became president of the federation as a representative of Croatia. Therefore, I am obliged to defend the interests of Croatia first and then to defend the interests of the federation. Regrettably, however, Serbia is pulling the entire federation apart. Put simply, it has constitutionally done away with two autonomous regions in the republic. Furthermore, it is trying to put other republics under its control.

Mesic To Visit United States for Talks

LD2609114691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] At the invitation of the U.S. Senate, Yugoslav Presidency President Stipe Mesic leaves today for Washington. President Mesic is expected to speak to members of the U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee about the crisis in Yugoslavia. He will also meet other high-ranking U.S. politicians.

Federal Justice Secretary To Attend Hague Talks

LD2509180191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1357 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Justice and Federal Administration Vlado Kambovski will head the Yugoslav delegation to tomorrow's plenary session of the peace conference for Yugoslavia in The Hague. At the previous two plenary sessions, the Yugoslav delegation was led by Yugoslav

Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar, who is currently attending the United Nations (U.N.) General Assembly session in New York.

The foreign ministers of the six Yugoslav republics will attend tomorrow's session in The Hague which will be chaired by British diplomat Lord Carrington. As expected, the ceasefire in Yugoslavia and the work of two expert commissions will be on the agenda. Lord Carrington will decide about the continuation of the conference and set a date for a new plenary session.

Interior Minister on Government's Handling of Crisis

LD2509192191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1741 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Interior Minister Petar Gracanin today accused the Federal Government of failing to take "timely, vigorous steps within its competence" in order to "secure constitutionality, legality and the implementation of Federal regulations on the entire territory of the country."

Gracanin said in an interview to TANJUG that the government's option for overcoming the country's political crisis by implementing economic reforms "has proved wrong."

"Quite the opposite happened. The political crisis has aggravated, the security situation has deteriorated and armed inter- ethnic clashes have escalated," he said, adding that all this "has threatened the reform itself."

Gracanin noted that "responsibility for the violation of constitutionality and legality and for the non-implementation of Federal regulations" rests for the most part with the republics.

However, he held the cabinet of Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic, of which he himself is a member, as chiefly responsible for that.

Gracanin pointed out that his Ministry had "timely and publicly" warned the Federal Government, parliament and Presidency of the possible course of developments in Yugoslavia, but that the majority of his proposals were being "conveniently put off."

Specifically, that happened with the Interior Ministry's proposal on the transformation of the state security service, made in order to adjust the service to new relations in Yugoslavia, Gracanin said. The proposal, submitted in June 1990, has not been discussed yet, he added.

A similar thing happened with the ministry's report on the breaches of the country's security system, which was discussed when it was "already too late," and with the proposed border changes, which were rejected after being put off for nearly one year, Gracanin said.

He cited the illegal arms imports by some Yugoslav republics as a consequence of those delays, and described the current security situation in the country as "extermely dramatic."

"Disintegration processes and the unilateral assertions of republican sovereignty have led to serious breaches and, in some cases, to a complete blockade of the country's security system," the Federal interior minister said.

As a way out of this situation Gracanin saw urgent measures to "maintain legality and the functioning of the system" in order to avoid "full-scale chaos in Yugoslavia," and the future arrangement of relations between the Yugoslav peoples "in accordance with their will and interests expressed democratically and in a peaceful manner."

Tudjman, Milosevic, Kadijevic Want Complete Cease-Fire

LD2509164291 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 25 Sep 91

["Text" of statement by the Croatian president's office on talks among Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and Federal National Defense Secretary Veljko Kadijevic, issued in Zagreb on 25 September—read by announcer]

[Text] Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia; Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia; and Army General Veljko Kadijevic, Federal national defense secretary, continuing the talks on the main issues in resolving the Yugoslav state and political crisis begun in Igalo, today jointly assessed that it is essential to maintain and consolidate peace in the country with a complete cease-fire as the first condition for achieving a just political solution. They assessed that it is in the interests of all Yugoslav nations and republics that the crisis be resolved exclusively by political means and that the continuation of bloodshed and conflicts should be prevented. In resolving the crisis, it is necessary to proceed from equal observance of the interests of all Yugoslav nations and their equality.

Participants in today's meeting consider that the principled orientation of the conference in The Hague, which excludes the imposition of a political solution by force, will contribute to the solution of the Yugoslav crisis in a peaceful and just manner. The talks will be continued, the statement says.

Ministry To Court-Martial Croatia's Tus, Stipetic

LD2509181191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1230 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 25 (TANJUG)—According to a decision of the Federal Secretariat for Defense, Generals

Anton Tus and Petar Stipetic will be court-martialed, the information service of the Yugoslav Ministry of Defense announced today.

It was also announced that the two generals, although they asked to be released from active military service, have not yet been released and will stand trial in accordance with regulations for active military personnel.

Generals Tus and Stipetic, the military communique says, were appointed recently to high ranking posts in the so-called Croatian Army and as officers of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA) they accepted those posts.

General Tus and Stipetic held the highest offices in the JNA. Tus was until recently commander of the Yugoslav Air Force and Air Defense.

Their acceptance of posts in the Croatian Armed Forces has given rise to angry reactions in the Army and assessments that it was a question of treason.

Government Says Kostic, Kosutic 'Putschists'

LD2509203291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1815 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today accused Yugoslav Presidency member from Vojvodina Jugoslav Kostic and some Serbian officials of calling for the "ousting and public lynch" of Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic with their statements.

The Federal Government warned that it would be forced to move from Belgrade if riots took place outside its headquarters as a result of such calls.

Kostic told a press conference in Novi Sad on Monday that Markovic should resign before he is physically removed from office, since there have been many such demands lately.

Kostic accused Markovic of destroying the economy and said that the reconstruction of the government which he proposed was unacceptable.

Today's statement by the government secretariat for information criticized also Serbian Vice Premier Budimir Kosutic for accusing Markovic and the Federal Government of being the "nucleus of the treacherous forces," without providing any evidence.

The statement called Kosutic and Kostic "putschists" and initiators of possible unrest outside the government headquarters in Belgrade.

The Federal Government statement warned that the heads of some parties in Serbia were "appealing for a physical settling of accounts with Ante Markovic."

Markovic has been criticized in Serbia especially strongly since he asked for the resignations of Federal Defence Minister General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic and his Deputy Admiral Stane Brovet at a Federal Government session a week ago.

The Federal prime minister also asked for the calling of a Yugoslav parliament session to propose a government reconstruction.

Army Denies Report on Killing Reservists

LD2509160191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1319 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Defense Secretariat has denied the report carried by Croatian radio today, according to which officers of the Yugoslav People's Army have allegedly killed several hundred of the reservists not far from the town of Vinkovci.

The Army statement accused Croatian radio of 'fabricating lies and misinformation.'

The Army said that the fabrications were aimed at 'improving the seriously shaken fighting morale' in the ranks of the Croatian Interior Ministry units and the Croatian National Guard Corps 'because of their own heavy losses, which are constantly concealed.'

The Army stressed that such actions revealed 'hatred for the Yugoslav People's Army and a wish constantly to incite armed clashes which lead to the escalation of the war and in no case to the agreed ceasefire.'

Conflicting Reports Seen on Croatia's Crisis Areas

LD2509232891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2155 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Sisak, Vukovar, Split, Yugoslavia, Sept 25 (TANJUG)—Conflicting reports flowed into TANJUG today from the crisis areas in the Yugoslav republic of Croatia.

According to Croatian radio, the area around Vukovar in eastern Slavonia is calm and the cease-fire is being respected. A Belgrade radio journalist has reported, however, that the 'truce order has bypassed Vukovar.'

It has been learned from military sources that fighting took place in the afternoon between Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) troops and members of Croatia's armed formations. This is being seen as connected with the attack on the barracks last night.

Croatian radio also reported that the 'battlezone in Banija and Posavina has been silent for two days now,' while Belgrade radio said that the cease-fire was being respected only by YPA and Serbian territorial defence troops.

Belgrade radio claimed that reinforcements were flowing to the Croatian forces, that a 'youth camp near Sisak has been turned into a military camp,' and that one Serb civilian had been killed in his home.

Belgrade radio also said that fighting was in progress near Gospic, in southern Croatia. The strongest attacks were carried out against the YPA barracks in Sveti Rok, near Gospic. The same source said efforts were under way to break the blockade of the barracks.

A TANJUG correspondent reported that fighting was continuing in Lika, the fiercest clashes taking place near the villages of Ricice and Medak, on the route linking Gospic and Gracac.

Small-arms fire ripped through the air at midday (10:00 GMT) today in the coastal town of Split. The Split crisis headquarters said the gunfire was the result of 'fifth-columnists making themselves heard in all parts of the city.'

TANJUG's correspondent has reported that several minutes before the barrage Split radio urged all shipping near Split harbour to seek shelter in the nearest bays.

The fierce barrage had as its result three injured civilians in a fire in a flat, the correspondent said.

Four members of the European Community (E.C.) observer mission met in Split today with representatives of the local authortities. It has been announced that the cease-fire in Dalmatia will be overseen by a commission made up of members of the E.C. monitor mission, Croatia's civilian authorities, the YPA and representatives of the Serbian people in Dalmatia.

No major clashes took place in Osijek and its surroundings, in eastern Slavonia.

Croatian radio has said that representatives of the crisis headquarters in Vinkovci and the YPA have reached agreement for YPA units to move within five days out the entire region around Vinkovci, including Mirkovci, a Serb-populated village near the Vinkovci, which lies in eastern Slavonia.

The Federal secretariat for national defence said this evening that units of the YPA's First Army District had succeeded in breaking the blockade of the YPA barracks in Vinkovci. The Defence Ministry said the YPA units had received medical assistance and replenishment with basic supplies.

The ministry said the armed attacks on the Vinkovci barracks had lasted a full 15 days, during which period 'even the removal and transport of the dead and wounded had not been permitted.'

Croatian radio reported today about clashes in and around Pakrac. The same source said at 15:30 local time this afternoon that the evacuation of the hospital in Pakrac had begun and that 'new reinforcements have set out from Bjelovar for Pakrac.'

Pakrac, a town in western Slavonia, is encicled by Serbian territorial defence units.

Military sources denied reports by Croatian radio about an armoured assault from the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina on the town of Jasenovac in Croatia and on the bridge across the river Sava in the town. The sources said there were no movements by YPA tanks in the region.

Secretariat Issues Ultimatum to Defecting Envoys

LD2509215191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1933 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav foreign ministry today demanded that the Yugoslav ambassadors from the republic of Croatia follow the instruction of the organs of the Federation or resign, says a statement released this evening.

According to the statement, a number of Yugoslav ambassadors of Croatian nationality have informed the Federal foreign ministry of "personal motives" behind their declarations of "full loyalty to Croatia." However, a number of others have not "yielded to pressure from Zagreb."

The office of the president of the Yugoslav republic of Croatia today informs that 12 Yugoslav ambassadors have pledged "full loyalty" to Croatia.

The ambassadors have informed the Federal foreign ministry about a "request from Zagreb to immediately confirm their loyalty to Croatia."

The Federal foreign ministry says that it has left it to the ambassadors to make their decisions "guided by their conscience, convictions and feelings."

Yugoslav Ambassador to France Bozidar Gagro, a Croat, resigned two days ago. The others who have pledged "full loyalty" to Croatia have not followed their pledges with resignations.

Egyptian Envoy Threatens To Resign

LD2509215991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1748 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Cairo, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Ambassador to Egypt Ivan Ivekovic said this afternoon that he had not resigned but intimated that he would undoubtedly do so as soon as the Croatian government asks him to.

"I have not resigned because nobody asked me to," Ivekovic told a TANJUG correspondent in Cairo. He added that he would perform his duty conscientiously as long as he holds this position.

Ambassador Ivekovic on 20 September sent a letter to Federal Foreign Affairs Secretary Budimir Loncar informing him that he is "thinking of tendering his resignation."

Ivekovic said that he had also written in his letter to Loncar that the "guideline for his possible resignation"

will be the behavior of the three top Croats in the federation: Stipe Mesic, Ante Markovic, and Budimir Loncar.

Assembly Human Rights Committee on Suffering

LD2509210991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1640 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 25 (TANJUG)—The Federal parliament's Committee for Human Rights and Civil Liberties on Wednesday urged the termination of all armed clashes in Yugoslavia, as a basic precondition for ending the sufferings of people, especially civilians, women and children.

The deputies noted that war, as an antihuman and anticivilizational act, cuts across all human rights and is a crime in itself.

Representative of the Federal National Defence Secretariat Col. Miodrag Starcevic told the Committee that the provisions of international humanitarian law were applying to, but were being violated in the armed clashes threatening to turn into a total war in Yugoslavia.

Col. Starcevic said that exposed to the sufferings were also persons not participating in clashes, or even those outside the scenes of fighting. Forbidden weapons are being used in fighting and sacral objects as machine-gun nests, hospitals are being attacked and medical facilities evacuated in order to be used as ammunition depots, he said.

The Defence Secretariat representative also stated that human rights in Croatia were also being violated by spreading fear among the population with frequent soundings of false air-raid alarms. He cited the example of Croatia's capital of Zagreb "where there has been no bombing, nor will there be any."

The Committee called on the media to "be instrumental in damping down instead of fanning up the war."

Secretariat Statement: 'Settling Accounts With Markovic'

LD2509202491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1518 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—The Federal Information Secretariat submitted the following announcement with a request that it be conveyed in full to users of TANJUG's general service:

"The appeal for physically settling accounts with Ante Markovic, legally elected president of the Yugoslav Government, which was publicly announced recently by leaders of some parties in Serbia and representatives of the official authorities is a classic example of an appeal for a coup or for a public lynching.

"Statements by Jugoslav Kostic, Yugoslav Presidency member from Vojvodina, and Serbian Vice Premier Budimir Kosutic should be treated within the same context. While the first advocates that the Federal Executive Council [FEC] president should be lynched, the second is accusing him of being—together with the entire FEC—"a center of treason" without any proof!

"It would be far better if these two putschists and those behind them explained to the Serbian public to what extent they contributed to efforts to break up the uniform Yugoslav market, to undermine the monetary policy established in the Yugoslav Assembly, to foment hatred, and to send Yugoslav nations into civil war.

"As for their appeals to lynch the Federal premier: Let it be clear to both domestic and world public who the initiator of possible conflicts outside the Palace of the Federation is and who will be responsible when the FEC is forced to move out of Belgrade."

General Raseta Meets Press on Army Barracks Blockades

LD2509171691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1608 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, and Army General Veljko Kadijevic, Federal national defense secretary, are expected to meet today. This was confirmed by Lieutenant Colonel General Andrija Raseta, deputy commander of the Fifth Military District, during his talks with journalists today. However, the cabinet of the president of the Republic of Croatia neither confirmed nor denied for TANJUG that the meeting would take place.

The main topic of the talks, according to Gen. Raseta, should be living and working conditions of Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] members on the territory of the Republic of Croatia. The meeting and talks are the realization of the cease-fire agreement in Igalo, signed on 17 September.

Gen. Raseta specified that the Zagreb crisis headquarters last night requested the fifth military district command to secure the taking off of President Tudjman's aircraft from Zagreb airport. The aircraft, according to Gen. Raseta, took off this morning. However, Raseta was unable to confirm whether President Tudjman was on board the aircraft.

The agreement on lifting the blockade of the barracks and other YPA installations on the territory of the Republic of Croatia was not fully implemented. Gen. Raseta said that water and electricity supplies were restored to some but not all the barracks. However, the barracks and installations were still cut off from telephone lines, provisions, post and other communications. Civilians working in the YPA were denied access, and even the transport of the injured by ambulances was prevented.

Gen. Raseta put forward a series of other objections to the attitude of the authorities to YPA members and their

families. For instance, YPA members' homes are being broken into, and empty homes are being sealed and, in some cases, other tenants moved in. Special passes are being introduced to enter certain residential buildings, and telephone lines are being disconnected. Although the Croatian government revealed the number of the arrested YPA members at its session on 24 September, the authorities, notes Raseta, are refusing to disclose the list of those arrested, while visits are not even allowed to doctors, lawyers, or members of their families. The only exception is the arrested Gen. Milan Aksentijevic, who has been allowed visits and who had been on a hunger strike for several days.

The agreed cease-fire in Croatia can be maintained despite the current violations, assessed Raseta. He specified that the YPA units received orders never to open fire, not even to respond to it, unless their lives or considerable material goods were directly under threat. According to Gen. Raseta, most cease-fire violations are near Vukovar, Vinkovci, Sibenik, Gospic, and Split.

In this respect, the deputy commander of the fifth military district called upon the EC observers who, as he said, had an opportunity to and did indeed convince themselves that the YPA was not initiating cease-fire violations. In Gen. Raseta's opinion, this caused the EC representative to change his stand on cease-fire violations.

Asked whether any YPA members on the territory of the fifth military district had been killed, Gen. Raseta said that the names of all those who had been killed were announced and that there was not a single casualty in the barracks or army installations that had not been reported to their families or to the public. There are injured, said Raseta, but they have been taken care of.

National Assembly Discusses Tripartite Proposal

LD2609112491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0943 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav crisis can be solved peacefully, by dialogue. The tripartite [Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina] proposal is, therefore, the voice of reason, and calls for an end to the ways of war, followed with great hardship and suffering by innocent people, particularly Serbs. These were the thoughts of Serbian Assembly President Aleksandr Bakocevic in the opening speech at today's second emergency session of the National Assembly, which is considering the Belgrade initiative for a peaceful and democratic resolution of the Yugoslav crisis and the basis for the organization of relations in Yugoslavia, recently put forward by representatives of Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The session, which began with a minute's silence for the victims of the Croatian state terror, is being attended by Borisav Jovic, Jugoslav Kostic and Sejdo Bajramovic, SFRY Presidency members from Serbia. Bakocevic stressed that the initiative had been sent to all republics and nations in Yugoslavia. It is open to all republics that would be equal parties in the negotiations and in the solution of the Yugoslav crisis. The document on the basis for the organization of relations in Yugoslavia is, according to Bakocevic, a proposal for a common state. The basic principles on which it will be founded will be its territorial unity, the inviolability of external borders, and changes to internal borders only by prior agreement. The state government will be organized on the principle of division of powers, multiparty parliamentarianism, the rule of law and social justice. All citizens will have equal civil, political and social rights, and the national and other rights of national minorities will be recognized.

According to this document, Aleksandr Bakocevic said, the bodies of government of such a Yugoslavia will be the Assembly, president of the republic, the government of Yugoslavia, and the Yugoslav Court and Constitutional Court.

Official Assures No Danger of Food Shortages

LD2609043991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1838 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 25 (TANJUG)—There is no danger of a shortage of basic foodstuffs in Yugoslavia, Assistant Federal Trade Secretary Borivoje Zivanovic has told TANJUG.

There is no need to ration food. The only coupons that should be introduced are for petrol, if the petrol crisis should be further exacerbated, Zivnaovic said.

He refuted the statement of president of the Yugoslav Chamber of the Economy Dagmar Suster that it is necessary to ration food and quoted figures to show that this year's yield has been exceptionally good and that the supply and demand on the market are well balanced.

There is enough sugar and flour on the market, Zivanovic said and quoted that a surplus of one million tons of flour has been exported, and a further 800 thousand tons of flour and 100 thousand tons of sugar will be exported by the end of the year.

There are some minor difficulties in the supply of edible oil, due to a hitch in the planned import of 20,000 tons of that commodity. The rise in the price of meat will soon be curbed, as an import of livestock has been announced.

The only difficulty is in the market of medicaments, Zivanovic said and specified that, of the 1,162 registered medicaments, 350 are in short supply.

The import of consumer goods in the first eight months of the year amounted to two billion 177 million dollars in value, which is somewhat above the over-all imports in 1990, which alone is sufficient guarantee that there will be no major shortages, Zivanovic stressed in conclusion.

Telephone, Telegraph Ties to West Europe Restored

LD2609042791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1800 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 25 (TANJUG)—Telephone and telegraph communications of Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia with Western Europe have been restored, but those between the three Yugoslav republics and most towns in Croatia are still interrupted.

Yugoslav post and telecommunication officials today said that Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia have been "cut off from the rest of the world since September 16 because the main communication lines in Croatia were disconnected."

Lines have been restored thanks to communication offices in Budapest, Paris, London and Madrid.

The Yugoslav telecommunications system is part of the global system and what is going on in Croatia "has not happened in international communication even during the many years of war in the Lebanon," the officials said.

Red Cross Reports 224,499 Refugees Flee Crisis Areas

LD2609043191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1427 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 25 (TANJUG)—According to today's statement released by the Red Cross of Yugoslavia, 224,499 people fled from the country's crisis areas by last Wednesday. Most of the refugees, 104,000, fled to the republic of Serbia, 80,000 to safer areas in Croatia, and around 35,000 to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Children under 15 account for 60 percent of the total number of refugees. The Red Cross is trying to pick up information about the fate of the Yugoslav Army members who have been captured or reported missing in Croatia, the statement says.

Meanwhile, the Yugoslav Government calls the hygienic and epidemiological situation in the crisis areas of Croatia is "unfavourable." A special government body dealing with the refugees' problems says that a critical health situation has been caused by the cutting of electricity and water supplies, food unfit for human consumption and a shortage of medicaments, sanitary material and doctors.

Authorities To Move Tito Memorial to Belgrade Cemetery

LD2509222591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1509 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 25 (TANJUG)—Serbian republican minister for town planning Miodrag Janic told reporters today that the remains of the late Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito would be moved from the Tito memorial to one of the Belgrade cemeteries by the end of the year.

Janic specified that the decision about the cemetery would be a technical matter which will be resolved within the complex quest on the status of Dedinje and the Tito Memorial Center, which includes the tomb which houses Tito's remains.

Dedinje is an exclusive quarter of Belgrade where the upper classes used to live prior to the outbreak of World War Two. After the war, during the so-called new Yugoslavia, this beautiful part of the city was reserved for the Communist state, party and military leadership. Two former royal courts are also located in Dedinje.

Minister Janjic also said that Tito's tomb, known as "the House of Flowers" would be abolished as an institution and the facility placed under the category of "illegally built" buildings.

According to Janic's statement, the government of the republic of Serbia is firmly resolved to move the late president's remains more than a decade after his death, in order to get everything "in place—formally and legally". This should have been done by the family of the late Broz, but since this was not the case, the public and the government of Serbia have done so, Janic said.

The republican minister also said that the government had tried to reach Tito's widow Jovanka Broz through her lawyer, but that she had not replied, which was interpretted as her refusal to discuss the matter.

On this occasion, the Belgrade daily BORBA today quotes Jovanka Broz as saying that "this is the final act of a frenetic campaign which is led against the late Tito, in recent years, by certain news media, political parties and individuals."

International

Mesic Not To Attend UN General Assembly Session

LD2509161591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1424 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Presidency President Stjepan Mesic has changed his mind about going to New York to attend the United Nations (U.N.) General Assembly session.

Secretary-General of the Yugoslav Presidency Anton Stari today told TANJUG that the Presidency members were yesterday informed about Mesic's decision not to go to New York by Deputy Federal Foreign Secretary Milivoje Maksic.

In order to represent Yugoslavia at the U.N., Mesic needed the approval of the collective head of state and a verification of the speech he would make at the United Nations, Stari said.

Mesic did not call a Presidency session and he did not come to the working meeting of the collective head of state which was held in Belgrade yesterday. Mesic yesterday refused to come to Belgrade and said that a Presidency session can be held in any other city which can be reached from Zagreb by road and are not controlled by the Yugoslav Army.

Mesic decided not to go to New York also because it had been explained to him from the Yugoslav mission to the United Nations that a General Assembly session is determined well in advance and it is very difficult to change anything once the agenda is formulated and the order of speakers is determined, Maksic said yesterday.

Federal Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar will speak in New York on behalf of Yugoslavia as previously determined by the Federal government.

Stari today announced that the Presidency vice-president would hold a Presidency session by the end of the week if Mesic himself does not do so.

It was assessed at last night's working meeting, which was attended by five members of the eight-member collective head of state, that conditions have already been met for Mesic to be considered 'absent' or 'indefinitely prevented' (from attending), which, under the Constitution and the procedures of work of the Presidency, gives the vice-president the right to call Presidency sessions.

Loncar Addresses UN Security Council

LD2609005691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2252 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Report on address by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, to the UN Security Council at the United Nations on 25 September]

[Text] United Nations, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—I am facing one of the most difficult moments in my life, in the professional sense, of course. I will speak about my country and the tragedy its nations are going through, their worst tragedy this century, Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, said opening his address to the Security Council, which is discussing the Yugoslav crisis at the ministerial level.

Noting that Yugoslavia is now being discussed by the Security Council for the second time—the first time was four decades ago when our country asked for help under the threat of aggression following the Cominform resolution—Loncar stressed that one of the biggest historical paradoxes is that a country that is one of the founders of the United Nations, a champion of peace, freedom, equality and prosperity, a right shared by all to decide on their own future, has now become a concern of the world and of the body that protects these values.

Yugoslavia is in conflict with itself—Loncar said—in the most favorable of all historical moments of our time, when the world is advancing toward higher political and economic rights and freedoms.

The Yugoslav drama is too stratified and complex to be explained in one speech, Loncar said, stressing that at this moment it is more useful to note that no protagonist of the Yugoslav drama is either innocent or completely without sin. They all to a certain extent failed to shoulder their historical responsibility.

In Croatia, Loncar said, a very sad tragedy is taking place claiming enormous casualties and destruction. The Croatian and Serbian peoples have for centuries lived together and should continue living there. Now a question has arisen how to overcome the huge disaster shared by all.

Stressing that the Yugoslav crisis is only a part of big tremors that caught hold of Eastern Europe, the USSR and other parts of the world, and that it is so much worse because it has ethnic characteristics, and that the "tragedy of Yugoslavia is in its essence an ominous concentration of problems and challenges of the post-cold war world," Loncar listed what he thought to have been direct causes of crisis in our country: inclination to impose one solution as a reply to the crisis; nationalism, which turned all existential questions into one national question; a thesis on the undivided territory of a nation that pushes aside the human being as the center of democracy; mistrust in each other; unilateral acts; and a policy of faits accomplis and the like.

Our crisis, Loncar said, has threatened not only the present existence and future of our nations, it also threatened the peace and stability in Europe. So much happened in Yugoslavia over the past months that it is now beyond repair, it should be redefined.

At this moment, Loncar believes, it is necessary above all to strengthen the fragile and uncertain peace that began two days ago in order to open up paths to political dialogue.

Yugoslavia, the federal secretary admits, is not able to resolve its crisis on its own, and hence it initiated a peace action within the European Community and the CSCE. Yugoslavia appreciates efforts invested to resolve its crisis by these sides, particularly those that Van den Broek and Lord Carrington invested.

Listing what steps he had in mind that were taken by the EC, Loncar mentioned the intolerability of unilateral changing of borders by force, the protection of rights of all in Yugoslavia, full consideration being given to all legitimate interests and aspirations.

Itemizing all stipulations from all agreements on cease-fires in Yugoslavia hitherto signed, Loncar, stating that some of them nevertheless had more profound effects on the real situation—particularly the last cease-fire decision—pointed to the necessity of securing stable and permanent peace as the primary goal of all efforts, which should also be joined by the United Nations.

"Without the help of the international community, primarily the EC, we cannot prevent economic collapse and social chaos," Loncar said. "On the other hand, a realistic hope that the door to European integration will be opened can help calm passions."

Yugoslavia, according to Loncar, can be saved only by joint awareness that, no matter how much we are devoted to the principles of noninterference, we are all in this word profoundly interlinked and interdependent when it comes to peace, progress, and the realization of universal human rights. Therefore, he said, I personally believe that this resolution being discussed by the Security Council represents a true wish to help Europe in its efforts, and primarily Yugoslavia so it can help itself.

What Europe and the world need, particularly Yugoslavia, Loncar said, is that Yugoslav conflicts be resolved at The Hague peace conference, support be given to efforts for peace and a dialogue under the aegis of the CSCE and the EC, and that the international community actively join in by refraining from delivering weapons to anyone in Yugoslavia and from any actions that would intensify tension.

Security Council Resolution on Country Reported

LD2609060791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0159 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] United Nations, September 26 (TANJUG)—The U.N. Security Council resolution on Yugoslavia, adopted at today's ministerial session, expresses full support to collective efforts being made under the auspices of the European Community (EC) member nations in association with the CSCE member countries for peace and dialogue in Yugoslavia.

Being supported are all the arrangements and measures reached so far within such engagement, and the sending of monitors to oversee a cease-fire providing for a cessation of hostilities and for this process to work within the peace conference on Yugoslavia, the resolution points out.

The Security Council also calls on the U.N. secretary-general to offer his services to Yugoslavia's Government and all included in this process, and to report on it to the council.

The council "resolutely insists on" strict maintenance of cease-fire under the agreements reached on September 17 and 22 and appeals to all the warring sides to peacefuilly settle their conflicts through negotiations within the conference on Yugoslavia.

Finally, the Security Council has decided, under the U.N. Charter Article Seven and with the aim of establishing peace and stability in Yugoslavia, that an immediate, general and full embargo be imposed on all deliveries of arms and war materiel to Yugoslavia as long as the council, after consultations with the Yugoslav Government, does not decide differently.

All the U.N. member nations are called upon to refrain from any action capable of contributing to increasing tension and postponing the peace-making process in Yugoslavia so as to make it possible for the Yugoslavs to decide themselves on how to build their future in peace.

At the end, the council makes known its decision to keep an eye on the situation in Yugoslavia until its peaceful solution.

For all that, there are no essential didferences between the first version of the document offered and the adopted one, noticeable is a sizably milder definition of the cease-fire demand to be found in the adopted document in the form of an appeal, whereas it was formulated as orders in the proposed version.

Also particularly emphasized in the resolution preamble is the fact that Yugoslavia has "accepted that the Security Council be convened," something missing in the primary version.

Being thought in the circles of observers here is that these changes are essentially new elements (the non-aligned countries on the council came out in their favour) so as to place emphasis on the further observance of the U.N. Charter principle on non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

The case of Yugoslavia is in general further held here to be such, with an explanation added that it is being discussed with the consent of the very country in question.

Foreign Minister Criticizes U.S. 'Lack of Engagement'

LD2509214391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2004 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Washington, Sept 25 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Croatia is pleased with the United Nations Security Council's draft resolution on the crisis in Yugoslavia, according to its foreign minister, Zvonimir Separovic.

The only unjust feature is the provision for an embargo on the sales of arms to Yugoslavia, Separovic said at a news conference in Washington, adding that "Croatia is unarmed, while the Yugoslav Army is the second or fourth-strongest in Europe."

Separovic also assessed the peace conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague as "irrelevant" and "inadequate," and described what has been achieved there so far as "neither enough nor timely."

It is good that the entire problem of the Yugoslav crisis has been transferred to the United Nations, because the Security Council "has at its disposal the means to

safeguard the peace," i.e., the possibility to deploy military forces, which the European Community does not.

The Croatian foreign minister criticized the United States for what he described as an inadequate engagement in the problem.

He said the United States remained silent and was passively watching the events in Yugoslavia.

The forthcoming talks with U.S. politicians, including Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger, will be an opportunity to contribute to America's support to Croatia, Separovic said.

Lord Carrington Opens 3d Session of Hague Conference

LD2609105591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1024 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] The Hague, September 26 (TANJUG)—The third plenary session of the conference on Yugoslavia opened in The Hague today, chaired by British diplomat Lord Carrington.

Representatives of the Yugoslav Federal and the republican foreign ministries are expected to discuss with Lord Carrington and the two vice-presidents of The Hague conference the cease-fire in Croatia and the further work of the conference.

Markovic Meets German Ambassador on Cease-Fire Plans

LD2609043391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1824 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic today received German ambassador in Belgrade Hansjoerg Eiff, at the latter's request.

During the ensuing talk, Markovic and Eiff discussed the current situation in Yugoslavia and the efforts being made to consolidate the ceasefire agreement, says a statement released by the government in Belgrade. Also discussed were the work to date of The Hague conference on peace for Yugoslavia and the pre-requisites necessary for its further work and success.

Envoy Says Austria, Albania Not Respecting Human Rights

LD2509194691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1722 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Moscow, Sept 25 (TANJUG)—Ambassador Vladimir Pavicevic, head of Yugoslavia's delegation at the Moscow conference on human rights, said today that Austria was not abiding by the state treaty in regard to respecting human rights.

"After decades of ignoring the rights of the Slovene and Croatian minorities on its own territory, Austria has suddenly appeared among the front ranks of the advocates of Slovenian and Croatian independence and the disintegration of Yugoslavia, and spiritual guardians of the ethnic Albanian minority in the province of Kosovo-Metohija," Pavicevic said.

In a response to Austrian delegate Martin Vukovic's attacks on Yugoslavia in connection with Croatia and Slovenia, Pavicevic said Yugoslavia had never sought to internationalize the question of its two minorities in Austria, although problems in regard to their inequal position had burdened relations between the two countries.

Describing Vukovic's claim that "political parties which represent the interests of the ethnic Albanians" cannot be officially registered as a "gross falsehood," Pavicevic said five officially-registered political parties which rallied exclusively members of the ethnic Albanian national minority had been active for several months in Kosovo-Metohija.

Pavicevic also said that Kosovo-Metohija's autonomy had not been abolished and that Serbia's new constitution contained a provision about two autonomous provinces—Kosovo-Metohija and Vojvodina.

What Serbia's new constitution has abolished are the competences through which the Federal Constitutiuon dating from 1974 had granted the two provinces de facto status of states.

In this context Pavicevic said that ethnic Albanians in Kosovo-Metohija enjoyed an education in their own language from primary school up to and including the university, their own academy of sciences and other cultural and other rights, in contrast to the Croatian and Slovene minorities in Austria, which did not have primary education in their own languages even in localities with exclusively ethnic Croatian or Slovene populations.

Pavicevic explained that the ethnic Albanians laid off in Kosovo-Metohija had lost their jobs because their firms could not allow their manufacturing processes to be disrupted because of "political aspirations which have no connection with the work process."

He pointed out that Albania had quite recently recognized only a Greek and a Macedonian minority on its soil and had listed the number of ethnic Macedonians as less than 6,000, although Yugoslav delegate Naumovski estimated the figure to be around 140,000.

In the latest population census in Albania only about 100 persons declared their nationalities as Serb or Montenegrin, although earlier this year in one short period alone "over 2,000 Serbs and Montenegrins fled from Albania to Yugoslavia." Albanians are forcing Serbs and Montenegrins to take Albanian names, in an effort to assimilate them, and Tirana has never recognized them as a national minority, Pavicevic said.

Yugoslavia would be content if Albania were to grant the Yugoslav minorities there the same or even just similar rights to those enjoyed by ethnic Albanians in Yugoslavia, Pavicevic concluded.

Croatia

Vinkovci Authorities Agree on Barracks Evacuation

LD2609103691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0854 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Zagreb, Vinkovci, Sept 26 (TANJUG)—The authorities in Vinkovci have agreed with the military authorities that the barracks in the town be evacuated tomorrow.

Croatian radio this morning reported that under this agreement, the units of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) should also leave the territory of the Republic of Croatia by September 29.

Military sources close to the command of JNA units in Vinkovci confirmed that the evacuation of the barracks has been agreed but did not comment claims on leaving the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

Military sources also do not cite reasons for taking such a decision to leave the barracks. The barracks have for days been encircled by Croatian forces where fierce fighting has taken place. There is no information on casualties.

Military sources say that the agreement on the evacuation of wounded and sick soldiers, which is already underway, was reached yesterday.

In eastern Croatia, JNA units are holding still the barracks in Vukovar while the barracks in Osijek fell into the hands of Croatian forces earlier.

There was shooting in the vicinity of Vukovar last night but no major clashes. The center of the city is controlled by Croatian forces.

TANJUG correspondent, invoking Serbian sources, reports that Croatian forces attacked JNA positions between Okucani and Novska last night. Fire was returned, three reservists were killed and several wounded.

Croatian radio reported that "the occupying army and Chetniks" last night attacked Novska, resulting in both dead and wounded.

There was no news of fresh clashes in Dalmatia this morning. Croatian radio reported that there was shooting in a part of the military port in Pula. Military authorities have reported nothing about this yet.

Agreement Reached on Army Departure From Vinkovci

LD2509145191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Excerpt] The Vinkovci municipality crisis headquarters today agreed with representatives of the occupying army that the army should leave the entire Vinkovci region within five days, HINA reports. The agreement refers to all privates and officers in the Djuro Salaj Barracks in Vinkovci, in military depots in [word indistinct] and Mirkovci, and in all other places where the federal army soldiers are stationed. [passage omitted]

Army Denies Agreement on Withdrawal From Croatia

AU2609150791 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] There is no agreement whatsoever on the withdrawal of units of the Yugoslav People's Army from Croatia nor on their relocation within the ethnic borders of Serbs in this republic. This has been stated to TANJUG by a senior Army official.

The statement was actually given to TANJUG after articles appeared in the British press yesterday to the effect that the leadership of the Yugoslav People's Army had expressed its willingness to withdraw all units from Croatia except from the territory where the Serbian population lives.

Novska Under Fierce Attack; 'Enormous' Damage Reported

LD2609083691 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Novska is still under a fierce attack. This morning the occupying Army launched an attack on the town with multirocket launchers of big destructive powers. People have been injured and killed and enormous material damage has been done. The people of Novska are in shelters because of the danger of an air raid.

Dailies Report Croatian Guard Massacred Soldiers

LD2609091191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0829 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Karlovac, Sept 26 (TANJUG)—At least thirteen captured soldiers of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) were massacred at the Korana bridge in the city of Karlovac. They are the victims of members of the Croatian National Guard who intercepted and captured them as they were moving towards barracks in Karlovac which was under attack.

This war crime occurred last Saturday evening but the Croatian authorities have remained silent and the first news is carried by two Belgrade dailies BORBA and POLITIKA.

According to BORBA, after the surrender, Croatian Guardsmen massacred the soldiers with knives. The prisoners were mostly reservists. Only two escaped by jumping into the river.

POLITIKA quoted a witness of this massacre, reservist from Vrginmost Branko Madzarac (Kordum) as saying that seventeen soldiers were killed on the bridge and that their bodies were thrown into the Korana river. Among the massacred soldiers was JNA Captain Mile Peuraca whom the guardsmen stabbed first. According to Madzarac, the soldiers were first beaten with rifle butts

and then the guardsmen fired at their legs. The witness, although wounded, managed to escape.

Heavy Shooting in Dubrovnik Area Overnight

LD2609102591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0832 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Dubrovnik, September 26 (TANJUG)—There was shooting again last night in the southernmost part of the Republic of Croatia, not far from Dubrovnik, specifically in the border area between Croatia, the Republic of Montenegro and the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, that is, Hercegovina where Yugoslav People's Army reservists are stationed.

The shooting was the heaviest in Konavli near Dubrovnik, an area from which around 150 people, mainly women, children and aged, fled in the past three days.

The local population was disturbed the most by the fire from a military vessel, whose guns were turned in the direction of Molunat, located between Dubrovnik and Herceg Novi.

No information has been available about whether there have been any casualties. A news conference is scheduled to be held at the press centre in Dubrovnik today.

Fighting Near Dragalic; CNN Crew Reported Arrested

LD2609110791 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] There is a truce on all the battlefields in the Nova Gradiska crisis area in western Slavonija. It seems the Croatian Defense Forces succeeded in silencing the heavy artillery of the occupying forces from the Banjaluka corps by returning fire overnight against the enemy attacks. Banjaluka corps units supported by army reservists and volunteers from Bosanska Krajina carried out continuous attacks from 1700 yesterday to 0200 this morning against the positions of the Croatian Defense Forces near the villages of Dragalic and Gorica using self-propelled guns, howitzers, tank guns, machine guns, and multiple rocket launchers from their positions at Donji Bogicevci, south of the [Zagreb-Belgrade] motorway and Bok Jankovac. Two Croatian defenders were killed and five slightly or seriously injured in the attack. According to substantiated reports, the enemy suffered 15 slightly or seriously wounded and two killed, but it is believed that a Croatian forces counterattack caused many more casualties. [passage omitted]

According to reliable sources, units from the occupying army's Banjaluka corps mistakenly detained and blindfolded a crew of journalists from the well-known American TV news service, CNN, who spent yesterday in the temporarily occupied territory of Novi Varos. Admiral Stane Brovet personally ordered their detention and said they should be taken to the unit's commanders in Novi Varos or Stara Gradiska with the promise that they would be transferred to Pakrac. They were reportedly detained for allegedly filming, without authorization, strategically important facilities belonging to the occupying army in Novi Varos, which that very army flattened at the beginning of the war.

Croatian Ministry Records 45 Cease-Fire Violations

LD2509201191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Agression by the Federal Army and terrorists against the republic of Croatia continues unabated. There were 15 serious armed attacks against defense forces and civilian targets 24-25 September. The Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry reports that the cease-fire has been violated 45 times since 22 September—that is, since the cease-fire came into force. A total of six members of the Internal Affairs Ministry and National Guard Corps were killed and 14 wounded 24-25 September. A total of nine civilians were also killed and 36 were wounded. Since 22 September and the signing of the cease-fire, six members of the Internal Affairs Ministry and National Guard Corps have been killed and 14 wounded, and 15 civilians have been killed and 51 wounded. The attacks continue.

Serbia

Serbian Assembly Returns From Summer Recess

LD2609091891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0846 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—Following the summer recess, the Serbian Assembly resumed work this morning with its second emergency session. The agenda includes a debate on the Belgrade initiative for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis, presented by representatives of the top bodies of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

At the closed part of the session, held at the request of the republic's government, Serbian Defense Minister General Tomislav Simovic will report to deputies about the current security situation.

The Serbian Assembly session is also being attended by the members of the SFRY Presidency from Serbia.

Discusses National Crisis

AU2609104091 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Report by Milorad Jovic]

[Excerpt] The National Assembly of Serbia resumed its work today after the summer recess. Milorad Jovic reports from the Serbian Assembly building:

[Jovic report] At the beginning of the session, people's deputies paid tribute to the victims of Croatian state terror with a minute of silence. In a brief speech before the debate on the Belgrade Initiative for a Peaceful and

Democratic Solution to the Yugoslav Crisis, Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the legislature, stressed that this initiative expresses the orientation of the Republics of Serbia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina for the preservation of Yugoslavia.

Addressing the legislature, Budimir Kosutic, vice president of the republican government, said that Serbia is indeed at war with Croatia but that it is Croatia that is waging war against the Serbian people. Kosutic stressed that the outside borders of Yugoslavia are inviolable but not the internal ones. At the same time, however, internal borders cannot become state borders. Republican government experts are working on documents about all of the questions that will be discussed at the conference in The Hague. The documents will be translated into all major languages and will be forwarded, in addition to The Hague conference, to all countries in the world. [passage omitted]

Army Unblocks Vinkovci Barracks, Controls Nearby Towns

LD2609060291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0240 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 25 (TANJUG)—The 1st Military Region units have unblocked barracks in the garrison of Vinkovci, a town in eastern Slavonia, northern Yugoslavia, Yugoslavia's National Defence Ministry announced this evening.

The 1st Military Region units "could not help but take energetic measures for breaking the blockade of the barracks," Croatia's armed forces having kept attacking the Vinkovci barracks "for more than fifteen days, even not allowing that the killed and wounded be pulled out."

"Croatia's armed formations go on attacking Army units and military facilities, blockading barracks, preventing them from being kept supplied with their needs and medically cared for," the ministry made it known.

All of that is being done even despite reciprocal orders issued by Defence Minister Gen. Veljko Kadijevic and President of Croatia Franjo Tudjman aimed at an absolute cease-fire, the announcement said.

"Underway are terrorist actions for robbing Army men and their belongings, for blackmailing them, for ill-treating them physically and in other ways, and for arresting their family members," it went on.

Since 1500 hrs local time on September 22, when Gen. Kadijevic's and Tudjman's orders went into force, "Croatian armed formations have launched 47 attacks on the Yugoslav Army's units, facilities and members. There have been 15 attacks like that within the past 24 hours only," the announcement had it.

Yugoslav Army units, having unblocked the Vinkovci barracks, are now in control of the nearby villages of Jankovci, Mirkovci and Brsadin as well as of communications among them, the announcement claimed.

By its action today, the 1st Military Region units wound up their unblocking of barracks and units east of the Vinkovci-Osijek line, it said.

The Knin and Banjaluka Corps units are "successfully carrying out their planned tasks," the announcement added.

The Knin Corps is engaged in the areas of Dalmatia and Lika, and the Banja Luka Corps in the regions of Banija and western Slavonia, both in central Croatia.

Opposition Leader Blames Slovenia for Crisis

LD2509195191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1702 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Paris, September 25 (TANJUG)—Leader of the Democratic Party of Serbia Dragoljub Micunovic has accused the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia as being chiefly responsible for the outbreak of the war in Yugoslavia.

Micunovic specified in an interview published by the Paris daily LIBERATION on Wednesday that the "current armed clashes in Yugoslavia were triggered off by Slovenia's unilateral decision to change the country's border marks."

Slovenia, which proclaimed its secession from Yugoslavia on July 25 [date as received], attacked the Yugoslav People's Army while it was protecting the country's borders in pursuance of a Federal Government decision, and branded it an aggressor.

Micunovic singled out the Federal Constitution of 1974 as another cause of the current conflict. He called it a "germ of the country's breakup because it failed to clearly define the division of sovereignty between the Federation and the republics."

The third cause, he said, was the unilateral proclamation of independence by Croatia also on June 25.

"However," said Micunovic, "Zagreb overlooked the fact that its action would call into question the republican borders, and that the Army would wish to retaliate for the humiliation it suffered in Slovenia by extending strong support to the Serbs. Besides, Croatia counted on outside support, but its tactic and expectations proved wrong."

The leader of one of the most influential Serbian opposition parties expressed hope that the current ceasefire "will for the most part be observed."

He said that the "pressure of domestic and world public opinion is so strong that the 'hawks' have realized they cannot go on with the war games. In particular, President Tudjman saw that he cannot get his state with the help of foreign troops."

Nevertheless, warned Micunovic, "time and patience will be needed for peace to return within the Yugoslav borders."

He also warned that the sending of the (international) interposition forces would be a "dangerous gesture with unforeseeable consequences unless consent has previously been received from all actors in the current conflict in Yugoslavia."

Stanic Says Federal Government 'No Longer Exists'

LD2509201491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1822 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Belgrade, September 25 (TANJUG)—Serbian Vice Premier Nikola Stanic today said that the "Federal Government virtually no longer exists" and "does not pursue any economic or development policy."

Stanic told reporters after a Serbian government session that "due to the absence of any economic and development policy of the Federal Government, Serbia will have to take over these affairs because all its vital economic interests are threatened."

He described Markovic's initiative for forming a coordinating body made up of republican premiers and headed by himself, as an "unconstitutional and anti-institutional step and another attempt by the prime minister to distance himself from the real problems of the country."

Penalties for Refusing Military Service

LD2509173291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] The Serbian defense law proclaims that men between the ages of 16 and 60 are liable for military service. A supreme court judge told Novi Sad's MAGYAR SZO newspaper that the law states that the mobilization decree published in the media is equivalent to the call-up by name. For this reason, if a reservist or a person liable for service does not come forth without justification, then he can be sentenced to 3-5 years in prison; if there is a war, he can be given a death sentence. The Serbian law states that anyone who hides a person liable for military service will be regarded as an accomplice to a crime, it reads in MAGYAR SZO.

Novi Sad Command Orders Reservists To Report

LD2509174991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1544 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Embargoed by TANJUG until 2200 GMT 25 September]

[Text] Novi Sad, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—The Novi Sad District Army command today informed all reservist-refugees from Croatia younger than 40 years of age who are staying temporarily in Vojvodina to contact municipal secretariats for national defense immediately so that they can be sent to war units of the Yugoslav Armed Forces.

The command, as stated, considers this call-up a public one; therefore, failure to respond will be considered a criminal act of evading military service.

At the same time, all citizens of Vojvodina between the ages of 20 to 40 who wish to participate in combat actions as volunteers and have not been registered with municipal secretariats for national defense should immediately contact their municipal secretariat for national defense. Volunteers also will be sent to war units of the SFRY Armed Forces.

Rugova on Kosovo Situation, Peace Moves

AU2609071691 Pristina BUJKU in Albanian 21 Sep 91 p 3

[Behxhet Haliti report: "Markovic Sobers Up Rather Late"]

[Text] The topic of the repressions of the current Serbian authorities against the Albanians of Kosovo has become inevitable at all the Kosovo Democratic Alliance's [LDK] news conferences. This was also the case yesterday at the regular news conference of the largest political party of Kosovo's Albanians.

Repression Continues

Serbia's repression of Kosovo and the Albanians continues, LDK Chairman Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said at the start of the news conference. The raids on Albanian houses, such as those that took place two or three days ago in Pristina and Glogovac, are continuing. Albanians are still being dismissed from their jobs, a phenomenon most striking at the university, where hundreds of teachers and lecturers have been suspended and normal work has become virtually impossible in every faculty. The Serbian authorities are using the law on language use, approved by Serbia in July this year, as grounds for the suspension of Albanian staff. On the basis of this law, the Serbian authorities are demanding the use of Cyrillic even in medicine. This repression has also unfortunately resulted in deaths. The day before yesterday, the police killed the young lad Azem Uke Halili, who was working in his garden in a village near Djakovica. The police later tried to cover up the case, claiming that it was a case of a blood feud. All this resembles the time of Rankovic, when blood feuds, which we succeeded in almost totally eradicating from our people's mentality last year, were encouraged among the Albanians.

We have also recently witnessed Army movements on the roads of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said. This shows that the Army is present here and will not sit quietly, but is nervous, no doubt because there are no major conflicts here.

Mobilization has also begun in recent days in Kosovo, the LDK chairman continued, and they are asking for the mobilization of Albanians in the Army, like in Vojvodina and elsewhere, not to mention the young recruits to whom summons have been sent, including

students and boys under 18, whom they have no right to call to the Army. In this way they are trying to destabilize the most vigorous section of the Albanian population and to drive these young people out of Kosovo. More than 20 buses were also sent from Macedonia with soldiers for the front lines in Croatia, and the overwhelming majority of these soldiers from the intake of June are Albanians. Although from the very beginning the Albanians have not wanted to join in war games of any kind, somebody is now trying to deploy Albanians at the very front lines.

The Albanians, Rugova said, have absolutely no reason to respond to the call for mobilization or to send recruits to this Yugo-Army, which resembles more a band of buccaneers or an unstoppable machine than a regular army.

We Too Will Take Part at The Hague

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova went on at yesterday's news conference to congratulate the Croatian people on their stand in defense of the independence of Croatia against the Yugo-Army. Rugova said that it is now evident that this war is not only about the Serbs in Croatia, but that the problem is much broader.

As for the contacts between the LDK and the Serbian authorities, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that the conditions for dialogue do not exist in this time of war, but there must nevertheless be talks. We accept this first contact, and if these talks continue, all the political parties in Kosovo and other structures of the state will become involved, because this would make the results most fruitful. We do not wish to talk only with the representatives of Serbia, but with those of the federation, if this Yugoslavia survives, and with international intermediaries. At this meeting, we showed goodwill in order to meet, although the repression and terror are continuing. We will not enter into any kind of discussions in order to give legitimacy to the repression and murders here in Kosovo.

Commenting on the statement of the Serbian foreign minister, who a few days ago said that the Albanians will not be able to take part at The Hague but that he will try to ensure that the Serbs of Croatia will go there, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that he had only one message for this Serbian minister: We too will participate at The Hague.

At the end of his remarks, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that he welcomed all the European and U.S. initiatives to solve the crisis in Yugoslavia and to end the war in Croatia. Because signatures and documents are no longer respected, a second level must be set in motion with European or UN peace-keeping forces, because if this war is not stopped, there will be large-scale loss of life and general war in this region, in Yugoslavia and the Balkans, and this would be devastating for the people of the region, who have only just recovered from major wars.

We Do Not Think in Terms of Armies and War

As the news conference continued, JEDINSTVO's journalist asked what happened to the prediction that the Albanians too would be equal partners at the European Parliament in Strasbourg, where they were not present. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that we had not predicted such a thing, because the European Parliament did not invite representatives from the Kosovo Assembly. Nevertheless, he said, Mr. Ramajli and another member of the Kosovo Assembly were to have been admitted in talks the day before yesterday and as far as we know were welcomed at the Brussels-based Political Directorate of the European Parliament. This directorate is the political committee that drafts and shapes the policy of the European Parliament.

Yutel's journalist asked how the LDK chairman assessed the present position of the federal government, the plans to restructure this government, and the claims of a secret meeting between Kadijevic and Yazov, until recently the Russian [as published] defense minister. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that the Federal Executive Council is now in the same position as were once the Yugoslav Presidency and the Federal Assembly, because it is now practically impossible for the Federal Executive Council to be restructured. However, he said, Markovic has in recent days finally sobered up and has published some data about connections between Yugoslav and Russian generals over arms imports from the Soviet Union, etc. Even though Markovic produced these facts rather late, I think that they will help to explain many things.

JEDINSTVO's journalist again asked whether it is true that Dr. Rugova has been elected president of the Republic of Kosovo, that Iljaz Ramajli has been elected chairman of the Kosovo Assembly, and that Mahmut Bakalli has been elected to head the Kosovo Government.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said that this is not true, while Professor Dr. Fehmi Agani added jokingly that if it were, we here would be drinking champagne.

A journalist from Croatian Television said that the U.S. State Department has recently advised U.S. citizens not to go to Bosnia or Kosovo. It gave similar advice regarding Croatia and Slovenia some time ago. Does this not prove that war is predicted in Bosnia and Kosovo too, and, if so, are you doing anything to protect the people?

The LDK chairman said that it is the practice of the United States to take measures to secure the safety of U.S. citizens in areas of crisis. I have heard that the United States has also reduced the number of staff at its consulate in Zagreb. We, because we do not have the paramilitary units that all other republics possess, can only increase our care to ensure that no possible aggression will catch the Albanian people unawares. We in Kosovo do not and cannot even have territorial defense, because for 10 years we have been under the magnifying glass of the federal government, the Army, and the

police, and we have had no opportunity of thinking in terms of armies and war. We have our backs to the wall and cannot be frightened by comments such as, "The Albanians have no weapons and we can do what we like to them." If anything happens in Kosovo, all sides will suffer, Rugova said.

A journalist from the Croatian news agency HINA asked jokingly whether Professor Dr. Fehmi Agani's detention by the police was part of the dialogue with Serbia, and Dr. Ibrahim Rugova replied, likewise jokingly, that Professor Agani's detention by the police was a form of dialogue using all available means.

Sandzak Muslim Party Official Views Autonomy

AU2609112291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] The autonomy of Sandzak will not be proclaimed before one more attempt is made with the Serbian authorities to solve the problem of Muslims' cultural autonomy. At a news conference in Novi Pazar one hour ago, Rasim Ljajic, secretary of the Party of Democratic Action for Serbia, said that the Party of Democratic Action will request for this region everything that the Serbs will demand in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina and will do so in the event that Yugoslavia survives. In the opposite case, that is, if Yugoslavia is broken up, or if the map of Bosnia-Hercegovina is redrawn, the Party of Democratic Action will demand full political autonomy. This will also be done if Serbia fails to meet the demand for cultural autonomy, Rasim Ljajic said. He added that the Party of Democratic Action supports Ante Markovic's proposal on replacing Kadijevic and Brovet and stated that his party will not run in local elections in Serbia if the present division into territorial units is maintained.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Ministry Orders Lifting of All Barricades

LD2509221391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, 25 Sep (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Hercegovina's Internal Affairs Ministry today ordered the Mostar security service and local public security stations to lift immediately all barricades which prevent the normal functioning of traffic, endanger passengers' safety, and prevent the transportation of goods.

Bosnia-Hercegovina's Internal Affairs Ministry issued a statement ordering that all communications (civilian, army, and police) must function. All particularly important facilities must be secured, and contact with appropriate Army bodies will be established.

The statement by Bosnia-Hercegovina's Internal Affairs Ministry stresses that a necessary number of active and reserve police units will be used to secure public peace and order and personal and property safety.

Some Montenegrin Units To Withdraw 26 Sep

AU2609100591 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Generals Aleksandar Vasiljevic and Vuleta Vuletic today held an eight-hour talk with Alija Delimustafic, minister of internal affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and his deputy, Vitomir Zepinic, in Mostar today. The talk was held in the presence of the representatives of all three main parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Omer Vatric reports:

[Vatric] Proceeding from yesterday's talks in Belgrade between the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the General Staff and the representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, after eight hours of talks in Mostar today, a way was found to immediately remove all obstacles and barricades from the roads and to relocate the units of the Yugoslav People's Army.

The talks, which were held behind closed doors, were attended by General Aleksandar Vasiljevic and Vuleta Vuletic, Alija Delimustafic, minister of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, his deputy Vitomir Zepinic, their assistants, and the representatives of the three ruling parties, Mate Boban, from the Croatian Democratic Community, Ismet Hadziosmanovic, from the Party of Democratic Action, and Branko Simic, from the Serbian Democratic Party.

The communique that was issued tonight states that the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Army will work together on the disarmament of illegal and paramilitary formations in the Republic and on securing vital civilian and military facilities. The communique also states that an agreement was reached on the majority of vital issues in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This convinced the participants in the talks that there will be no war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Here is what I learned meanwhile from the assistant minister of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Bruno Stojic, and vice president of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Mate Boban, as well as from other well-informed sources: All reservists from Montenegro deployed in the region of Dubrava, in Lokve, and near Stolac and Capljina, where the majority of incidents occurred in the last few days, will leave for the barracks in Bileca and Trebinje tomorrow.

The other large formation of reservists from Montenegro and Serbia, stationed in Ortijes as additional security to the military airport, will be withdrawn to the airport garrison in Mostar. Therefore, nobody will remain at their present positions, where their presence has caused great anxiety among the public and led to a number of incidents and the emigration of several thousand residents from this part of Hercegovina.

Speaking on behalf of the Croatian Democratic Community, Mate Boban said that his party will respect the

agreement, because peace is the main program orientation of his party and the Croatian people who live here.

Bruno Stojic, assistant minister of internal affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that the generals visited the area in the evening to prepare the implementation of the agreement. This is also being done by representatives of the Croatian Democratic Community, Party of Democratic Action, and the Serbian Democratic Party.

Militia Reservists Reportedly Mobilized in Bihac

AU2609103791 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0500 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Due to many takeoffs and landings by planes and helicopters at the Bihac airfield yesterday, the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina has proclaimed the mobilization of the reserve militia forces in the region. They say that the response of the people summoned was very good, essentially better than in the case of the call-up of Army reservists by the local garrison.

Withdrawal of Reservists From Uzice Corps Reported

LD2609122691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 26 Sep 91

[Text] Mostar, 26 Sep (TANJUG)—According to details from the security service center in Mostar, preparations began around noon today for units of the Uzice Corps to withdraw to other positions in accordance with last night's agreement reached in Mostar between representatives of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs and representatives of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] General Staff.

During the day, reservist units of the Uzice Corps stationed between Stolac and Capljina should be moved to barracks in Bileca and Trebinje, and reservists stationed at Mostar airport will be relocated to the barracks of the Air Force garrison in Mostar. The security service center in Mostar has also announced that, according to information available to it, civilians did not fire first at reservists in the shooting incident that took place yesterday at Jasoc near Stolac. The command of the Uzice Corps, however, announced this morning that reservists were attacked by civilians and were only returning fire.

Islamic Community Warns Bosnia of War Threat

LD2609042491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1745 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, September 25 (TANJUG)—The top leadership of the Islamic community in Yugoslavia today warned that "the threat of war dangerously looms over Bosnia-Hercegovina, the republic which is an ethnic mix of Moslems, Serbs and Croats."

A statement by the Islamic community which was signed by Reis-ul-Ulema Hadzi Jakub Selimoski said that "the arrogant and uncivilized behaviour of Army reservists stationed in Hercegovina" (southern Bosnia-Hercegovina) had contributed to the sudden aggravation of inter-ethnic relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Several thousand Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) reservists arrived in western Hercegovina five days ago from the neighbouring republics of Montenegro and Serbia. The Bosnia-Hercegovina leadership demanded the withdrawal of the reservists, and the civilian authorities of these municipalities with predominantly Croat and Moslem populations asked for the mobilization of territorial units.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina, Moslems make up 43.77 percent of the population, Serbs 31.46 percent, and Croats 17.34 percent.

The Islamic community greeted the ceasefire in Croatia, "regardless of how fragile it is, in the hope that this respite will serve to cool heated passions, to review the tragedy and senselessness of the killing, and to begin constructive talks."

Muslims, Serbs in Visegrad Reach Agreement

AU2509194491 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Velibor Golubovic report from Visegrad]

[Text] A folk proverb says that a kind word can open iron doors. Several hours of talks between the representatives of all the political parties in Visegrad during the last two days, which were also attended by the representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia—Hercegovina and of the Higher Public Prosecutor's Office, has had positive results.

With the aim of achieving peace for everybody, which has been threatened by the excessive behavior of some of the members of the Serbian and Muslim nationality, the opposed opening stances of the political parties have moved closer to such an extent that—at least concerning the heads of the national parties of the Party of Democratic Action [PDA] and the Serbian Democratic Party [SDP]—there are no misunderstandings and nothing stands in the way to a peaceful and safe life. An interparty agreement was reached. This agreement guarantees peace, personal safety, and security of property to all Visegrad residents. The responsible legislative and jurisdictional bodies have been ordered to carry out their duties in accordance with the law, and when interethnic clashes are in involved, to act decisively, quickly, and efficiently. The republican organs will extend expert and cadre help to them, which has already been done. With mutual trust, the Visegrad PDA and SDP have removed the last of the obstacles.

Fikret Cocalic, PDA president and president of the Visegrad Communal Assembly:

[Begin Cocalic recording] We have reached an inter-party agreement that the documentation on Army conscripts will be returned to the Secretariat for National Defense on 26 October 1991. [end recording]

Stanko Pecikoza, Visegrad SDP vice-president:

[Begin Pecikoza recording] At the time of signing this inter-party agreement the state of emergency announced by the SDS Crisis Headquarters ceases to apply, as well as all measures contained in the SDS statement. [end recording]

It remains to be seen tonight and early tomorrow if and to what extent this agreement has returned peace and trust among the Visegrad residents. We hope that it has.

Interethnic Problems Continue; Committees Suggested

LD2509194491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1543 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Sarajevo, September 25 (TANJUG)—It is quiet in Bosnia-Hercegovina as of last night, but many citizens of this Yugoslav republic who live in the valley of the Neretva in Hercegovina (southern Bosnia-Hercegovina) spent the night outside their homes.

The situation in Hercegovina deteriorated last week when reserve units of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) and volunteer units from the republics of Serbia and Montenegro arrived in this part of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This led to the first incidents because the local population was opposed to the arrival of these units.

The murder of a reservist of the Bosnia-Hercegovina forces, Andrija Kvesic, outside the Capljina post office last night lessens chances for peace, but everything is being done to prevent this case from acquiring implications which no-one wants.

In the town of Visegrad, which is on the border of Bosnia- Hercegovina with Serbia, the Serbian Democratic Party has proclaimed a state of emergency for the Serbian population in this municipality, following a number of incidents involving the Moslem Party of Democratic Action.

Hopes in the settling of the situation in this territory have increased since last night, when the leaders of these two biggest parties in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Radovan Karadzic of the Serbian Democratic Party, and Alija Izetbegovic of the Moslem party, who is also republican presidency president, spoke to the local party leaderships.

Today's leading Bosnia-Hercegovina daily OSLOBODJENJE, notable for appearing both in the Latin and the Cyrillic script (on alternate pages), writes about proposals by some prominent citizens that 'committees for national harmony' be formed in every place in this republic. As proposed, the committees would include people of all nationalities.

The population of Bosnia-Hercegovina includes around 44 percent Moslems, 31.5 percent Serbs, and 17 percent Croats.

Macedonia

Gligorov Returns From Hungarian Talks

LD2609015591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2026 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Skopje, Sept 25 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia Kiro Gligorov told the press on his return from Hungary this evening that he and his hosts are agreed that Europe should draw up programmes for Yugoslavia and give assistance through actions for peace.

"Europe should have programmes in readiness both if the Yugoslav community should in some way manage to survive and if its republics should have to form part of Europe as future states," Gligorov stressed.

He emphasized that Europe's assistance to Yugoslavia "should be given in the form of actions for peace, including peace-keeping troops, which should not be troops of intervention, but of separation."

The president of the southernmost Yugoslav republic of Macedonia paid a two-day official visit to Hungary at the invitation of the Hungarian leadership.

According to Gligorov, his talks with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall encompassed questions relating to the Yugoslav crisis and to Macedonia's role in resolving this crisis.

Also discussed were "relationships in the Balkans and problems of minorities on the peninsula, Europe's view of Yugoslavia's future, what chance there is of the international community resolving the Yugoslav crisis and what measures would be desirable in this direction," he specified.

The crisis cannot be resolved by recognizing one or two of the republics, but by considering the problem in its entirety and dealing with it as such, Gligorov stressed.

Montenegro

Montenegrin Firm Signs $4 Billion Tatar Contract

LD2609023491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1418 GMT 25 Sep 91

[Text] Titograd, September 25 (TANJUG)—Premier of the Soviet Tatar Republic Muhamed Galyamovich Sabirov and the president of the enterprise Monteks of Niksic (Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro), Stanislav Koprivica have concluded a four-billion-dollar deal

under which the Niksic enterprise will organize extensive construction works in the Soviet republic in exchange for Soviet oil.

Through Monteks, a large number of firms from several Yugoslav republics are to build hotels, factories, apartments and roads in the Soviet Tatar Republic, Koprivica told the press. In exchange, the republic will annualy export around two million tonnes of oil, gas and ores to Yugoslavia.

The building of the first hotels, factories and apartments on an area of 10,000 square metres in the Soviet republic's capital of Kazan will begin in October.